

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS BETWEEN 1900 AND 1939,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MAURITIUS, THE GOLD COAST
AND CEYLON

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations, between 1900 and 1939, with special reference to Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon.

There are two main parts: (1) the use made of the University of London Examinations in the development of the colonial educational system and colonial administration in general, and (2) the way in which the University of London degrees, internal and external, acted selectively on individual careers in the government service and major professions. A limited comparison is made between students who obtained their qualifications in England and those who gained their qualifications through the external system.

The University of London Colonial Examinations played a major part in introducing and developing a new educational system and new opportunities of social advancement in the then colonies, and in this way created avenues for social mobility within a new system of social stratification. It will be inferred that the social background of those who successfully passed the colonial examinations was different from the social background of those colonial students attending University College, London, Inns of Courts and the University of Oxford. Further, students passing the colonial examinations, on the whole, took positions in the government service, whereas, internal students were much more likely to take positions in the major professions.

A crucial requirement of the British administration of her colonies was a mechanism for creating and reproducing a supply of common administrative agents throughout the colonies effectively socialized into British values, discipline, commitment and ways of thinking. This mechanism was the University of London Colonial Examinations.

A distinction is made between the interests and intentions of the University of London. It will be argued that the insistence of the University of London on compatibility between its internal and external qualifications in the interest of maintaining a comparable standard of achievement became an important means whereby the English system of education and values were reproduced in the colonies.

Data relating to the colonial examinations, internal students and individual occupation are collected and compiled from original sources.

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The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn,

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Abbreviations

ULCE : University of London Colonial (External)
Examinations (The abbreviation is used in
the plural)

UCLE : University of Cambridge Local Examinations
(The abbreviation is used in the plural)

UODE : University of Oxford Delegacy Examinations
(The abbreviation is used in the plural)

ECLA : United Nations Economic Commission for Latin
America

SM or SMM : Minutes of the Senate, University of London

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abbreviations	4
List of Tables	10
List of Appendices	14
 <u>CHAPTER I</u> <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	 17
Notes to Chapter I	28
 <u>CHAPTER II</u> <u>REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE EDUCATION SYSTEMS UNDER COLONIAL RULE</u>	
1. Introduction	29
2. Omolewa, External Examinations, A Model	30
3. Review of the Literature	40
4. Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories	45
4-i A.G. Frank	46
4-ii Susanne Bodenheimer	47
4-iii Martin Carnoy	51
4-iv F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto	52
5. Counter-arguments to Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories	54
6. Summary of Dependency and Under- development Theories, and the Counter-arguments	66
 <u>CHAPTER III</u> <u>GENERAL BACKGROUND TO UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS</u>	
1. Introduction	75
2. Situation of Colonial Educational Systems around 1900	76
2-i Administration	81
2-ii Condition of Schooling	82
3. The Role of Universities in the British Empire	95
4. Brief History of the University of London	101
5. Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations	114
6. Colonial Office and the University of London	126
7. Performance of Candidates in the ULCE, 1900-1939	130
8. Conclusion	136
Notes to Chapter III	146

CHAPTER IV A CASE STUDY - MAURITIUS

1. Introduction	154
2. Review of the Literature	158
3. General Background	163
3-i Political and Economic Context	163
3-ii Primary Education	166
3-iii Secondary and Higher Education	168
4. The Development and Consequences of the University of London Colonial Examinations	179
4-i Introduction	179
4-ii The Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations, 1865-1939	180
4-iii The Role of the University of London Colonial Examinations with Respect to Government Service	187
4-iii-1 Comparison between University of London Graduates (external) and Those Who qualified in England, Who entered Government Service	188
4-iii-2 Successful Candidates for the Non-Degree ULCE, Who entered Government Service	191
4-iv Summary	195
5. Conclusion	197
Notes to Chapter IV	203

CHAPTER V A CASE STUDY - THE GOLD COAST

1. Introduction	205
2. Review of Issues involved in the Development of the Gold Coast Education in the Colonial Era	209
3. General Background	218
3-i Political and Economic Context	218
3-ii Development of Education	221
3-iii Achimota College	227
4. The Development and Consequences of the University of London Colonial Examinations	234
4-i Introduction	234
4-ii The Development of the ULCE, 1900-1939	235
4-iii The Role of the University of London Colonial Examinations with Respect to Government Service	242
4-iii-1 Government Service and Graduates	242
4-iii-2 Successful ULCE Candidates and Those entering Government Service	246

CHAPTER V (cont.)

Page

4-iii-3 Government Service and Employment Qualifications	247
4-iii-4 University of Cambridge Local Examinations	248
4-iii-5 Previous Education and Government Service	251
4-iii-6 Achimota, Government Service and the ULCE	252
4-iii-7 Issues of Social Mobility	253
4-iv Summary	255
5. Conclusion	259
Notes to Chapter V	264

CHAPTER VI A CASE STUDY - CEYLON

1. Introduction	267
2. Review of the Existing Literature	272
2-i Origin and Function of Higher Education	272
2-ii Government Service and Race	274
2-iii Elites	280
2-iv Higher Education and Race	284
2-v Communalism	286
2-vi Summary	288
3. General Background	291
3-i Political and Economic Context	291
3-ii Development of the Education System in Ceylon	294
3-ii-1 Primary Education	297
3-ii-2 Secondary Education and Technical Education	301
4. The Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations	303
4-i Introduction	303
4-ii Higher Education	304
4-ii-1 The Colombo Academy, Royal College, and Ceylon University College	304
4-ii-2 The Scholarship Scheme	306
4-ii-3 Candidate Numbers for Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations	310
4-iii Ceylonese Students in Britain, 1900-1939	315
4-iv Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon, 1882-1939	321
4-v Summary	332
Notes to Chapter VI	334

CHAPTER VII UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS,
RACE AND EMPLOYMENT IN CEYLON

1. Introduction	335
2. Identification of Race Groups	337
2-i Sample of Graduates taken from Minutes of the Senate and <u>London University</u> <u>Gazette</u>	338
2-ii Sample of Government Servants drawn from Ceylon Civil List	339
3. University of London Colonial Examinations, Government Service and Race	341
3-i Introduction	341
3-ii Government Service and Graduates	341
3-ii-1 Graduates (external)	343
3-ii-2 Graduates (internal)	343
3-ii-3 Graduates and Government Service (1953)	345
3-ii-4 Government Service and Graduates: Summary	348
3-iii Race and ULCE	349
3-iv Race, Government Service and the ULCE	353
3-iv-1 BA Degrees	356
3-iv-2 BSc Degrees	356
3-iv-3 Total Graduates: BA, BSc and Other Degrees in the Government Service	357
3-v Previous Education, Race and Government Employment	357
3-v-1 Previous Education for the ULCE	357
3-v-2 Previous Education and Government Employment	360
3-vi Employment of Graduates by Race outside Government Service	367
4. Summary and Conclusions	373
4-i The Development of Higher Education in Ceylon and ULCE	373
4-ii Previous Education, Degrees, Occupations and Race	375
4-ii-1 Previous Education	376
4-ii-2 Race, Degrees and Government Service	378
4-iii Discussions and General Conclusions	380

CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction	387
2. The State and the University of London	390
3. Autonomy of the University of London	393
4. The University of London and the Colonies: Three Case Studies	395
4-i Common Implications of the ULCE	397
4-i-1 Subjects	397
4-i-2 Central Colleges	398

CHAPTER VIII (cont.)

Page

4-i-3 Government Servants	401
4-ii Special Implications for each Colony	404
4-ii-1 Mauritius	404
4-ii-2 The Gold Coast	406
4-ii-3 Ceylon	407
5. Problems of the Literature on the Development of Education in the Colonies	409
6. Conclusions	412

BIBLIOGRAPHY

418

APPENDICES

428

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 2.1 Number and types of External Examinations in Nigeria	31
Table 2.2 Candidates and passed candidates for external examinations in Nigeria, 1887-1939	32
Table 2.3 Nigerian candidates and passed candidates for the ULCE	34
Table 3.1 Number of schools and average enrolment in the Federated Malay States	89
Table 3.2 Introduction of Inspectors	93
Table 3.3 Return of Examinations for Bachelor's degrees in the University of London 1889-91	104
Table 3.4 Foreign students in the Universities of the United Kingdom 1927-28	112
Table 3.5 Candidate numbers	132
Table 3.6 Countries and candidates by different examinations	133
Table 3.7 Candidate numbers by region	134
Table 3.8 Proportion of Ceylon candidates of the ULCE total candidates	135
Table 3.9 Proportion of Ceylon candidates for each examination, 1920-1929	135
Table 3.10 Candidate numbers in Mauritius	136
Table 4.1 Student numbers at Royal College, 1857-1862	171
Table 4.2 Students in secondary and higher schools, 1900-1939	174
Table 4.3 Candidates and passed candidates for the ULCE, 1865-1939	182
Table 4.4 Candidate and passed candidate numbers for ULCE Matriculation and UCLE Senior 1900-1939	184
Table 4.5 Previous Education, 1900-1939	185
Table 4.6 Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications in Civil Lists	190
Table 4.7 Government servants in the Civil Lists who passed Non-degree ULCE, 1900-1939	191

Table 4.8	Successful ULCE candidates and Departments of the Government Service	193
Table 4.9	Positions of ULCE government servants in the Education Department	194
Table 5.1	Primary schools and pupils on roll in 1939	224
Table 5.2	Secondary and other schools and students on roll in 1939	225
Table 5.3	Candidates and successful candidates for the ULCE, 1900-1939	236
Table 5.4	Previous education of successful candidates, 1900-1939	241
Table 5.5	Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications in the Civil Lists, 1948 and 1953	243
Table 5.6	Government servants employed before 1939 and qualified lawyers and medical doctors not in the government service (1948 Census Report)	245
Table 5.7	Government servants in 1931, 1948 and 1953 lists who passed any type of ULCE, 1900-1939	246
Table 5.8	Qualifications of African staff listed in the Staff List of 1953-54 and initially employed before 1939	247
Table 5.9	Successful candidates for clerkships	248
Table 5.10	Candidates and successful candidates at Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations, 1900-1939	250
Table 5.11	Relationship between qualifications and employment for the successful candidates (Staff List 1948-49 and 1953-54)	252
Table 5.12	Father's occupation of students registered at three Inns of Courts in London 1900-1939	254
Table 6.1	Number of civil servants	277
Table 6.2	Census Report	279
Table 6.3	Civil servants by race, 1946	280
Table 6.4	Percentage of population literate by religion, 1921	295
Table 6.5	Number of schools and pupils	298

Table 6.6	Aided schools by religious bodies	299
Table 6.7	Classification of schools and pupils in 1900 and 1939	300
Table 6.8	Candidates and successful candidates at Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations, and number of Ceylon University College students	311
Table 6.9	Students and graduates of Ceylon University College, and ULCE candidates and successful candidates, 1921-1939	314
Table 6.10	Student numbers and subjects studied in Britain, 1900 and 1939	316
Table 6.11	Ceylon student numbers in the University of Cambridge and London	318
Table 6.12	Students awarded degrees and qualifications, University College, London, University of Oxford, 3 Inns of Courts, and ULCE candidates and successful candidates, 1900-1939	320
Table 6.13	Candidates and passed candidates in the Intermediate Arts and Science (Pass), 1900-1929	324
Table 6.14	Students at Ceylon University College, Colombo, Intermediate and degree candidates and ULCE total candidates	325
Table 6.15	Candidates and successful candidates, BSc, 1910-1929	326
Table 6.16	Candidates and passed candidates for the First and Second Medical (Part I), 1910-1929	327
Table 7.1	Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications in Civil Lists	342
Table 7.2	Educational background of government servants listed in the <u>Civil List</u> 1953 and initially employed before 1939	346
Table 7.3	Previous education of the barristers in the <u>Civil List</u> of 1953	347
Table 7.4	Medical qualifications of government servants listed in the <u>Civil List</u> , 1953 and initially employed before 1939	348
Table 7.5	Population by race in 1931	350

	Page
Table 7.6 University of London graduates (external) by race, 1900-1939	351
Table 7.7 Government servants with University of London degrees (external) by race, 1900-1939	354
Table 7.8 Proportion of BA and BSc graduates and government servants by race 1900-1939 and race representation in the total population (1931)	355
Table 7.9 Previous education of ULCE graduates, 1900-1939	358
Table 7.10 Candidates and successful ULCE candidates for Intermediates, Diplomas and Degrees, 1882-1939	360
Table 7.11 Previous education of graduates and government servants by race	
7.11.1 Sinhalese and Tamils	362
7.11.2 Muslims, Burghers, Europeans and other races	363
7.11.3 Total	364
Table 7.12 Occupations of the graduates in 1953 Ceylon Directory not in the Civil Lists	370
Table 7.13 Occupation of Sinhalese and Tamil graduates (Ceylon Directory, 1953)	371
Table 7.14 Ceylon graduates of the University of London (external), 1900-1939, by race and subject, identified by three coders	385
Table 7.15 Government servants of the University of London graduates (external), 1900-1939, by race and subject, identified by three coders	386
Table 8.1 Previous education for the ULCE 1900-1939, Mauritius, Ceylon and the Gold Coast	400
Table 8.2 Successful candidates at various examinations, 1900-1939 and successful candidates entering government service 1910-1953	402

LIST OF APPENDICES

Page

Appendix 1	The University of London Colonial Examinations: candidates and successful candidates, 1865-1939 by type of examinations	428
	Table 1.1 1865-1899	428
	Table 1.2 1900-1939	429
Appendix 2	The University of London Colonial Examinations: candidates and successful candidates, 1865-1939 by country	434
	Table 2.1 1865-1899	434
	Table 2.2 1900-1939	435
Appendix 3	Total number of colonial candidates for the University of Cambridge Local Examinations, 1900-1939	440
Appendix 4	Students who took various examinations at the University of London	441
Appendix 5	Tables relating to Mauritius	442
	Table 5.1 University of London Colonial Examinations: Mauritius candidates and successful candidates, 1865-1939	442
	Table 5.2 University of Cambridge Local Examinations: Mauritius candidates and successful candidates, 1900-1939	445
Appendix 6	Tables relating to the Gold Coast	446
	Table 6.1 University of London Colonial Examinations: Gold Coast candidates and successful candidates, 1900-1939	446
	Table 6.2 Gold Coast candidates and successful candidates for Cambridge Local Examinations, 1900-1939	448

Appendix 7	Tables relating to Ceylon	449
Table 7.1	Population of Ceylon, in 1901, by race and religion	449
Table 7.2	Value of Imports and Exports in 1900 and 1939: Ceylon	450
Table 7.3.1	Previous education of the BA graduates and government servants	451
Table 7.3.2	Previous education of the BSc graduates and government servants	453
Table 7.4	Occupations of the University of London graduates (external) by race	455
Appendix 8	Candidates and successful candidates for the ULCE and UCLE, 1900-1939 in Mauritius, Ceylon and the Gold Coast	456

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The thesis will examine the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations (hereafter, ULCE) in the social and economic development of the erstwhile colonies, later Commonwealth. We will give a general account of the development of ULCE in all the colonies to be followed by the case studies on Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon between 1900 and 1939. The word "colonies" used in the thesis indicates the then British colonies.

The aim of the research is to cast light on the British influence over education systems in the British colonies by focussing on the means by which qualifications in higher education were obtained. Qualifications in higher education under colonial rule will be related to political, social and educational issues. For the British, ULCE were essentially an administrative issue, but they were also a means of social mobility for the colonized people, but ULCE created an educational issue over the determination of higher education in the colonies. These themes will lead to a wider question of modernisation of the colonies, that is to say, to the question of change of social structure and change in value systems.

It is a general assumption that the present situation in most developing countries developed out of the colonial era, and

that education played an important part in the development of these countries. As we shall see in the following chapter, a theoretical approach to this question is that of dependency theory. Although the number of researches on colonial educational systems has increased over the last two decades, especially the history of individual colonies and their educational policies, yet, there are still important questions unanswered and areas of enquiry to be made. For example, if we consider colonial education policies, it is now accepted among scholars that as Clatworthy (1971) asserts, the British formulated their colonial education policy in the 1920's when the Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa was set up. Yet, it is arguable that this is the case. Our view will be that colonial education policy existed before the 1920's. For example, if we follow the assumption that there had been no colonial educational policies before 1920, how do we explain the uniformity which followed the establishing of the Department of Public Instruction followed by the Department of Education, the introduction of grant-in-aid systems in many colonies in the second half of the 19th century, or the establishment of a government secondary school with the facility of higher education as a centre of the colonial education in each colony, e.g. the Royal College, Mauritius, the Royal College, Ceylon, Achimota College in the Gold Coast or King's College, Lagos.

The contribution of external examinations carried out by various British institutions is another neglected area in the

history, sociology and curriculum studies of colonial education. Although the candidate numbers or successful candidate numbers of external examinations have been mentioned in various papers concerning the education of the British colonies, the study of external examinations is not made comparatively but is limited to the study of individual territories. This work has failed to grasp the importance of the external examinations for three reasons. Firstly, in most of the cases, external examinations were implemented in different parts of the British colonies; secondly, the same examination papers were used in different colonies where cultural background, political or educational situations were different; thirdly, the content and the standard of the examinations were determined by the British organisation. The external examinations implied that education in the colonies was indirectly controlled by British organisations independent of the Colonial Office or colonial governments. The question whether British culture was imposed on the colonial people, which is the focal point of the recent arguments about the colonial education system, thus, lacks vital material.

Among external examinations, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations (hereafter, UCLE) and the University of London Colonial Examinations were very popular in many colonies since the second half of the 19th century and until today in some countries. The ULCE were, however, more important than the UCLE, because the qualifications given by

the ULCE were degrees whereas the qualifications given by the UCLE were secondary school certificates. The difference between the two qualifications in the colonial situations was that the London degree holders could compete for positions with British people, while the Cambridge certificate holders were likely to be clerks in the lower ranks in the civil service. Further, it is possible that those who obtain degrees from the University of London provided a potentially radical intellectual group against colonial rule. However, the significance of the University of London degree qualifications does not lessen the significance of their contribution to the development of secondary education.

In terms of the candidate numbers, more colonial students took the UCLE than the ULCE. The total number of colonial candidates between 1900 and 1939 for the ULCE was 42,601 (Appendix 1), while the total number for the UCLE was 349,681 (Appendix 3). The importance of the ULCE might possibly explain the involvement of the Colonial Office in conducting the ULCE in the colonies, whereas on this argument, the UCLE did not require the involvement of the Colonial Office.

The colonial (later called overseas) examinations of the University of London began in Mauritius in 1865.¹ The number of countries where the examinations were held were 58 between 1865 and 1939, and the number of subjects available for colonial examinations were 38 between 1865 and 1939.² The total number of candidates and passed candidates were 44,283

and 14,573 respectively between 1865 and 1939.³ (Appendix 1) The University of London was the only institution which offered university degrees in a range of subjects available to most of the British colonies until their own universities were established.⁴ As a result of the colonial examinations, the Ceylon University College was fully supported by the University of London until Ceylon established the University of Ceylon in 1942. This was the first case outside of Britain where the University of London assisted a university college to develop to a full university in the same way as the University of London helped other university colleges in Britain between 1849 and 1949.⁵ This seems to be important as the antecedent of the Special Relation after World War II. Yet, surprisingly the relationship between the University of London and Ceylon University College, Colombo has not been recognised by the University of London. For example, The University of London (The University of London, 1971) mentions the 7 University Colleges and 1 Royal College in the Commonwealth countries which had 'Special Relation' with the University of London sometime between 1946 and 1970, which facilitated their development to the full status of a university, (ibid, 18-19) but the relationship between the University of London and the Ceylon University College is not mentioned.

The standard and the content of the ULCE were the same wherever the examinations were taken, as the standard and the content of the internal students, although slight amendments were made from time to time when requests from the colonial

authorities were approved by the Senate of the University. As a result, the curriculum of secondary schools and above seem to have been organised in order to prepare for the ULCE, although institutions which prepared students for the ULCE were entirely independent of the University of London. It also implies that the consequences of the popularisation of the ULCE led to the consolidation and the standardization of British colonial educational systems.

The ULCE required competence in the English language and Western knowledge for examination success irrespective of the educational policies at the primary level and cultural background of the colonies. For these reasons, the University of London qualifications became credentials for employment in government positions and British companies. In this way, a link can be seen between ULCE, English language and knowledge, job prospects and social mobility in the new hierarchies created by colonial administration. It will be argued that contrary to the accepted view that there was no colonial education policies before the 1920's, education in the colonies seems to have been shaped by the ULCE without explicit government policies.

Omolewa published several papers on the relationship between various British external examinations and the development of the Nigerian educational system, which we will examine in the following chapter. We shall see his conclusions as the starting point for our general study of the antecedent and

consequences of the ULCE for all the colonial territories and in a greater detail for three, Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon. The following questions will be asked. To what extent was the Colonial Office involved? Who took the examinations? How were the qualifications used? What was the content of the examinations, and what was the contribution of the examinations to each colony's educational system?

The contribution to the University of London Colonial Examinations will be examined in two ways. Firstly, we will examine the general development of colonial educational systems and colonial administration, together with the consequences of the qualifications for social mobility. We shall briefly describe the political, economic and educational situation. We hope then to be in a position to examine the question who benefited from colonial policy. Secondly, we shall examine the careers of University of London external graduates with particular reference to the government service.⁶ These careers will be compared with the careers of internal students at the University of Oxford, University College, London, Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, and the Middle Temple. This comparison should yield information about the different opportunities available to internal and external students. Further we shall be concerned with the linkage between education, employment and race.

We shall be concerned not only with the University of London Colonial Examinations, but also the University of Cambridge

Local Examinations because both examinations were taken in many colonies. Although the UCLE aimed to test secondary education, whereas the ULCE examined for higher education, the function of the two examinations were similar in the colonies. Comparison of the candidate numbers in the two examinations in the three selected countries will show a difference in the demand for higher education.

In the second half of this thesis, the three case studies in Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon will be developed. As it is not possible to examine the role of the ULCE in all the colonies it will be necessary to select those colonies which will permit a comparison relevant to the thesis.

British colonies may be roughly divided into four groups according to their geographical and historical relationships to Britain: Self Dominions, East India and South Asia, West Indies, and Africa. For the purpose of this research, Self Dominions are excluded because although the ULCE were taken in the Self Dominions from the earliest period, the fact that their educational systems including their own universities had been consolidated by the end of the 19th century makes the role of the ULCE relatively minor. On this criteria, East India would also be excluded. In order to avoid complexities of the British influence over indigenous universities, it is important to choose colonies where a university system had not developed.

We will concentrate on three colonies for three rather different reasons.

Mauritius was chosen because it was there, in 1865, that the University of London Colonial Examinations were first held in an English colony. The Mauritian case may explain the necessity for the examinations in the colonies as a whole. Ceylon was chosen because more candidates took more different examination papers in Ceylon than in any other colony during the period concerned. Since Ceylon entered the ULCE in 1882, the number of candidates exceeded 90 per cent of the total number of all the colonial candidates for the ULCE by the end of the 1930's. The examination experience under the auspices of the University of London led to the establishment of her own university relatively early among British colonies. We explore the Ceylon case study to show the potentiality of the external examinations. The Gold Coast was chosen as an example of a colony whose cultural and historical background was different from the above two colonies.

Although we should be aware that an institution such as the University of London Colonial Examinations could not in itself be solely responsible for the development of nations nor for the social mobility of individuals, nonetheless the relation between candidate numbers in certain subjects and job availability should throw some light upon the general characteristics of a society. Further relative advantage in race and religion with respect to the examination may well reveal an aspect of colonial policy. Thus an examination of

the University of London Colonial Examinations should contribute to the contemporary debates on the question of "imposition".

Data relating to the University of London Colonial Examinations were taken from the Minutes of the University of London. Although the annual reports of the colonies also give the candidate numbers or sometimes the names of successful candidates, these reports were not consistent. For the same reason, data relating to the University of Cambridge Local Examinations were taken from the University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Reports and Tables and also the University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Papers, Class Lists, Reports. Data relating to internal students were obtained from the student registers of the University of Oxford, Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, and also from the Minutes of University College, London. The data on internal students are partial, partly because internal regulations of the institutions do not allow us to consult student records. Although the number of internal colonial students at the University of Cambridge seems to be similar to the number attending the University of Oxford, it was not possible to obtain data from the University of Cambridge because the data is available only at each individual college. Time was not available to visit individual colleges. The data on colonial students is available centrally at the University of Oxford. The data on internal students comes from those institutions which permitted us access to their archives. Although the data on internal

students are limited, they are still sufficient for the purpose of comparison in employment and educational background between internal and external students.

In the next chapter, the main arguments about the function of colonial education will be reviewed in order to provide a theoretical standpoint for our research, and to enable us to understand the function of the University of London Colonial Examinations.

In Chapter III, a history of the University of London will be briefly described in order to show how it was possible for the University of London to implement the ULCE. The development of the ULCE will also be described to give a general view of the relation between ULCE and the colonies.

In the following four chapters, three case studies will be presented. Chapter IV will examine the influence of the ULCE in Mauritius, with respect to changes in the internal system of social stratification, the cultural system and the economy. Following the same method, chapter V will examine the role of the ULCE in the Gold Coast between 1900 and 1939. The case studies in Ceylon will be divided into two chapters, Chapter VI for the general background and the development of the ULCE and Chapter VII for the relation between the ULCE, race and employment in Ceylon. In the last chapter, the implications of the ULCE based on the three case studies will be discussed with respect to contemporary debates about the function of education in the colonies.

Notes to Chapter I

1. The word "Colonial Examinations" was used for the last time in the Minutes of the Senate for 1934-35, and "overseas" was replaced in the Minutes of the Senate for 1935-36. However, the word "Overseas Centres" first appeared in 1923-24. "Overseas Candidates" was used in the Minutes of the Senate for 1924-25.
2. The number of countries is counted according to their present status. The actual numbers (under their colonial titles) were more than forty-nine. Honours and Pass examinations are counted as one.
3. The total number of candidates is actually less than 44,283 because candidates who had failed in the examinations for the first time may well have tried twice or more. This number includes the number of candidates who passed a part of the examinations.
4. The Codrington College in Barbados was affiliated to the University of Durham, and the courses of study in any branch was directed by the Senate of the University of Durham. All students at Codrington College were admissible to all degrees, licenses, and academic ranks in the several faculties of the University. The Fourah Bay College of Sierra Leone was also affiliated to the University of Durham, and the students could attain a degree in Theology and possibly in BA. The Tasmanian Council of Education, which had an examination system, was affiliated to the University of Cambridge around 1900, but the arrangements are not clear. (Board of Education, Vol.5. 1900:465, Vol.12, 1905:60, Vol.13, 1905:88-89).
5. "All university colleges created in England and Wales between 1849 and 1949, starting with Owens College which subsequently became the University of Manchester, automatically spent their apprentice years under the aegis of the London External Degree System and, in belated recognition of the precept that charity begins at home, the benefits of Special Relation were extended to the last four in the pipe-line, viz., Southampton, Hull, Exeter and Leicester. Developments in the polytechnics and other institutions in the public sectors of higher education throughout the country have been powerfully influenced for over a century by the fact that for many of their best students, the goal has been a London External Degree" (University of London, 1971:78-79).
6. In this thesis, the word "government service" will be used for all the positions listed in Civil List. Civil Service Proper is one of the government service.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON EDUCATION SYSTEMS UNDER COLONIAL RULE

1. Introduction

In the literature on the educational systems under colonial rule there remains one area untouched. That is the analysis of external examinations, which were implemented in many British colonies. It is almost correct to say that education in the British colonies was geared to taking British external examinations. For example, the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" (Board of Education, 1900, 1905) mentions that at the beginning of the 20th century, 13 British external examinations were implemented in 26 colonies and dependencies out of 48.

Yet the number of candidates and successful candidates of external examinations are only partially mentioned in papers concerning the history of colonial education. There is little mention of external examinations when, where, and how these examinations started in the colonies, how many candidates in all presented, or how many colonies participated in external examinations. The lack of research in this area flaws attempts of historians and sociologists of education to grasp the nature of colonial educations, and ignores the fact that external examinations were implemented in many British colonies, that examination papers were the same everywhere, and that British institutions decided the content and the standard. These features suggest that

education systems in the colonies may have been unified, according to British educational tradition. In the case of the question of 'adaptation' and 'imposition', it is important to grasp that British external examination boards such as the University of Cambridge, Oxford and London were independent institutions of the British administration or missionary organisations in the colonies. In this chapter, firstly we will review Omolewa's work on external examinations in Nigeria as a starting point for examining the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations. Secondly, we will review the literature on the educational systems in the colonies in order to explain the functions of the University of London Colonial Examinations, and here we will review dependency theories and the counter-arguments against these theories.

2. Omolewa, External Examinations, A Model

According to Omolewa, the first external examination in Nigeria began to operate in about 1865 when the College of Preceptors started its examinations. (Omolewa, 1977a:102) From this year, 5 other British institutions implemented their examinations until 1939. The institutions and the candidate numbers for the examinations are shown in the following tables (Table 2.1 and 2.2).

Although Table 2.2 does not give the completed figures, it still shows the characteristic of the external examinations in Nigeria in the first half of the 20th century.

Table 2.1: Number and types of External Examinations in Nigeria

The College Preceptors	Cambridge Locals	The City & Guilds of London Institute	Oxford Delegacy	ULCE	The Royal Society of Arts
Year of foundation 1853 in the U.K.	1858		1887	1865	
Year of inception 1865 in Nigeria	1910	1930	1929	1887	
Types of examination	Preliminary Junior Senior	First Grade Final Exa- mination	Preli- minary Junior Senior	Matriculation Intermediate BA	

Source : Omolewa, 1976a:352-353, 1977b:121-125, 1977c:74, 1978a:42-43.

Table 2.2: Candidates and passed candidates for external examinations in Nigeria, 1887-1939

	The College of Preceptors	Cambridge Locals	C.G.L.I.*	Oxford Delegacy	ULCE	The Royal Soc of Arts
Year	Cand. Pass	Cand. Pass	Cand. Pass	Cand. Pass	Cand. Pass	
1887					1 0	
8					1 0	
9					2 0	
90					2 0	
1					4 0	
2					1 0	
3					2 0	
4					? 2	
.						
.						
.						
98					1 0	
.						
.						
1905					1 0	
.						
.						
1910		9 3				
11		46 ?				
12		62 ?				
13		36 20				
14		53 27				
15		63 -				
16		110 45				
17		109 -				
18		143 41				
19		94 39				
20		11 39				
21		13 52				
22		303 121				
.						
.						
.						
28						
29				32 9		
30			7 2			
31						
.						
.						
.						
1937				28 17		
.						
.						
.						
1939						

* The City and Guilds of London Institute

Source: Omolewa, 1976a:352-353, 1977b:121-125, 1977c:74, 1978a:42-43.

Firstly, external examinations were mainly to assess secondary education. Among six external examinations implemented from the middle of the 19th century to 1939, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations were most popular. Although the external examinations by the College of Preceptors were originally introduced into Africa to assess the performance of students in various arts and skills (Omolewa, 1977a:103), the external examinations of the College of Preceptors were replaced with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations in 1910. The UCLE influenced secondary education in Nigeria by laying the foundations of English education in the Nigerian schools, in setting the substitution of English educational standards, textbooks and syllabus for the indigenous and missionary educational systems. (Omolewa, 1977b:111) The Oxford University Delegacy of Local Examinations were short-lived. The motivation for the introduction of the examination in 1929 is not clear, but Omolewa suggests that King's College, Lagos had to seek another external examination board when the superiority of King's College, Lagos in the performance of the UCLE was shattered by another school which produced more successful students. (Omolewa, 1978a:40) The reason for ending the Oxford University Delegacy Examinations in Nigeria is not clear either, but according to Omolewa, it could be related to World War II which made the implementation of the examination difficult. (ibid:44) The Oxford University Delegacy Examinations were conducted in a similar way as the UCLE.

Secondly, the University of London Colonial Examinations were introduced in 1887 in Nigeria, which was much earlier than the introduction of the UCLE, and the establishment of institutions for higher education. However the number of candidates were very small before 1905 and only 2 candidates passed the Matriculation Examination, in 1894, before 1905. According to our research, the candidate numbers and successful candidate numbers in Nigeria are as follows.

Table 2.3: Nigerian candidates and passed candidates for the ULCE

Number	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	Total
Candidate	5	12	2	22	118	?	
Pass	0	2	1	3	32	129	167

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1887-1940-41, Pass Lists in London University Gazette, 1915-16-1940-41 were also used when the information was not obtainable from the Minutes of the Senate.

The number of candidates increased after 1910. This might be explained by the introduction of the UCLE and the courses provided at King's College, Lagos where three candidates entered the examination in 1912. (Omolewa, 1976a:354).

According to Omolewa, originally, the colonial officials did not expect to use the University of London examinations to promote the country's indigenous educational development, but intended to provide examinations for those studying privately in the country. (Omolewa, 1980:663-664). In the early

period, teachers and clerks who studied privately or by correspondence mainly took the ULCE. (ibid:657) However from 1910 onwards, the ULCE were used as a means of promoting secondary and higher education. For this purpose, King's College, Lagos and Yaba Higher College were selected. Between 1948 and 1962, the University College, Ibadan had a special relationship with the University of London. (ibid:664-665).

One of the common characteristics of external examinations was that the same examinations originally designed for the British students, were conducted in Nigeria. Although questions related to local conditions, and indigenous languages were adopted in the examinations in the 1930's, the fundamental nature of the examinations were the same as before. (Omolewa, 1976a:350) (Omolewa, 1976b:100-104) (Omolewa, 1977b:119). The consequence of importing British examinations was that on the one hand, the Nigerian education system was gradually altered to follow the British education system in the case of the English language and the curriculum in general, and disciplined Nigerian students were gaining access to a modern way of thought through the external examinations and also recognised educational studies within the then British empire.

Apart from the influence on the development of secondary and higher education, the external examinations also contributed to the formation of the new elite. (Omolewa, 1977b:111) (Omolewa, 1978a:46). Firstly, qualifications obtained

through external examinations opened the way to study abroad or at home. For example, schools certificates such as the UCLE, the UODE, (University of Oxford Delegacy Examinations) or the Matriculation of the ULCE exempted the successful candidates from entrance examinations to the universities, or from the professional examinations such as "the General Medical School, the Incorporated Law Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Institute of Civil Engineers, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Institute of Actuaries, the Pharmaceutical Society, and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons" (Omolewa, 1978a:46) The ULCE also provided opportunities in obtaining degrees to those who remained in Nigeria. Secondly, external qualifications contributed to an introduction of a new standard of assessment for jobs or social and political esteem (Omolewa, 1976a:351) "since certificates issued by the external examination bodies were given recognition in recruitment and promotion in the public services of the colonies." (Omolewa, 1977a:103) The external qualifications were to replace a traditional means of assessment such as family background or tribal ties, but at the same time, they were to emphasize Britishness.

Although external examinations contributed to the development of secondary and higher education in Nigeria, formal education systems were not adequate to the provision of facilities for all the Nigerians who were preparing for external examinations. For example, there was no provision for higher education when the ULCE were first introduced in

1887 in Nigeria. It was in the early 1910's that King's College, Lagos provided the course for the UCLE and the ULCE.

We have already seen that the number of candidates for the ULCE increased after 1910. The correspondence colleges responded to meet the demand for those who wished to take the external examinations, but were studying outside formal educational institutions. According to Omolewa, correspondence education was introduced in Nigeria after World War I, and "by 1960 there were 17 British correspondence colleges in Nigeria." (Omolewa, 1978b:157, 159) It is also conceivable that parents supported educational institutions irrespective of the government, or private, in order to secure for their children a course leading to external examinations. (Omolewa, 1977a:104)

From the review of Omolewa's work, the following points can be made:-

- (1) Among various external examinations, secondary school certificate examinations were most popular.
- (2) The number of candidates increased when formal educational institutions provided courses for external examinations.
- (3) Correspondence colleges were also popular to prepare students for external examinations, especially for the ULCE.
- (4) Qualifications obtained through external examinations for secondary school certificates opened the way for higher education and for professional education. The

ULCE also made possible for Nigerians to obtain degrees at home.

- (5) The external qualifications contributed to the change in the principles of assessment for jobs or social and political esteem from traditional to modern procedures.
- (6) The content of the examinations was British-oriented.

With respect to studies on educational systems under the colonial reign, briefly discussed previously, the above points imply that in Nigeria it was external examinations which were most influential in determining the educational system between 1900 and 1939. Formal and informal educational institutions were developed in order to prepare students for external examinations, rather than the local Nigerian requirement and concerns.

However, in Omolewa's work, all the external examinations and correspondence colleges are treated as equally important. Although we accept that each external examination was important in its way and each supported the other in the development of the education system in Nigeria, we suggest that the University of London Colonial Examinations were the most important among external examinations for the following reasons. Firstly, the qualifications which the University of London conferred were degrees. Secondly, in the case of the University of London degrees, Nigerians could compete for a job with English people. That is to say, the degrees gave equal status to Nigerians as to the British administrators. Thirdly, it was only the ULCE which provided degree

examinations while at least 3 boards such as the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, the University of Oxford Delegacy, and the University of London Matriculation provided school certificates. Among external examinations, the Colonial Office was closely involved with the ULCE. Omolewa gives five possible reasons for the involvement of the Colonial Office: (1) the University of London was more able to be influenced as it was a young university without the tradition and power like Oxford and Cambridge, (2) the University of London charged only a small amount of money for external examinations, therefore it was economic, (3) as the government provided funds for the University of London, the Colonial Office may have considered that the University of London could be prepared to develop an examination system appropriate to the need of the Colonial Office, (4) only the University of London prepared students in the colonies for full degree examinations, (5) finally, the Colonial Office may have been wary of the radical traditions of the University and this necessitated close supervision. (Omolewa, 1980:661-662).

Omolewa here raises an important question of the relation between the Colonial Office and the University of London on the one hand and the University of London and the external examinations on the other. This is a very general question and it may well be that the answers Omolewa has given above are inadequate and should be explored in the content of a larger sample of colonies, examinations and students and candidates against the background of political, economic and

cultural content. This is the purpose of this thesis.

So far we have reviewed Omolewa's work on external examinations in Nigeria and presented some points deriving from the development of the external examinations. We also explained our position on the University of London Colonial Examinations.

In order to develop an adequate explanation of the function of the external examination system, especially that developed by the University of London as a part of the University activities directed towards countries which were part of the Empire, we will now review the relevant literature.

3. Review of the literature

The development of education systems under colonial rule has been reviewed since the 1960's by educationists, sociologists, historians who challenged the accepted view of benefaction. They proposed that the present situation of the Third World stemmed from the colonial rule, and education played an important role for colonial administration in creating dependency, especially in the 19th and 20th century.

This re-interpretation of colonial education policies went in parallel with the general debates on the function of formal schooling and with the awareness of the influence of the West and North America over the Third World after their independence.

The difference between the debates on colonial education from before the 1960's and after the 1960's is that the focus of the question was shifted from partial descriptions under the assumption of benefaction to the function of education systems related to an understanding of world system. The main arguments about colonialism are divided on the point whether the governing of foreign territories was a series of haphazard events or intentional acts. If colonialism was the result of a series of haphazard events, the educational systems can be explained on each individual case since there was no connection between the cases. If colonialism is accepted as a series of intentional acts, educational systems can be interpreted as a means of achieving economic or political aims. Psychological interpretations of colonialism stand outside these structural arguments.

For example, Richard Johnson (1970) argues that the 19th century mass schooling in England was imposed on reluctant working class parents by the middle class and upper class who had a sense of moral superiority. Bowles and Gintis (1976) assert that the educational institutions functioned as a tool of the capitalist economy. Children were disciplined and learned their place in the social order as future work force through schooling instead of developing individual abilities or learning to be responsible for themselves as free citizens, which the democratic liberal educationists had claimed. These reinterpretations of the function of education were applied to the international context to explain the colonial experience. The most relevant theories are

dependency theories, which have developed to explain the causes of the present Third World problems, especially the causes of Latin America's problems as a result of the development of the economy in the advanced countries, which conditions the economies of other countries. This view was proposed by dependency theorists such as Dos Santos (1973), O. Sunkel (1969), C. Furtado (1970), F. Cardoso (1972), and A.G. Frank (1969). By extending Dependency theories, Martin Carnoy argued that Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist education through which the colonizer tried to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer. (Carnoy, 1974:3) Carnoy in this way challenges the existing liberal idea that the European rulers introduced their advanced European culture to the non-cultured or uncivilised indigenous people. According to Carnoy, the colonial education systems were used as a means of exploiting the underdeveloped countries. Problems such as the gap between the economically advanced countries and the developing countries, or the internal gap between the educated and the illiterate are asserted to be a consequence of the colonial past which developed European biased schooling for a minority and tended to ignore the indigenous culture.

The distinctive characteristics of these criticisms is to interpret the role of educational institutions in the development of capitalism at the macro level rather than at the micro level.

The counter arguments to the dependency theories emphasise individual colonial situations according to the historical timescale, geographic area, the power relations between the colonizer and the colonized as the history of colonialism spreads across four hundred years and covers a variety of situations. For example, Watson (1982) explains as follows: The colonial policies of the Portuguese and the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Latin America were based upon the exploitation of natural resources such as gold, silver and spices. The Dutch expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was also driven by economic reasons: for example, the spice trade and plantation development. The British and French expansion in North America, the West Indies and the Indian subcontinent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had its basis in a mixture of economic and political reasons. British policies in the African tropical countries in the twentieth century gradually changed to prepare for the future independence of those countries. (Watson, 1982:6-9)

Colonial educational policies also differed from one geographic area to another and their policies changed overtime. The Spanish and Portuguese imposed Roman Catholic beliefs. Higher education established by the Jesuits in these colonies was exclusively for a minority. The French implemented a policy of assimilation of the colonized people to the French culture, language and administrative structures. The elites of the French colonies were sent to the French universities for further education and these

elites were expected to participate in the administration in the colonies. (ibid:7-8).

With respect to British education policies in the colonies, Watson differentiates four phases as follows:

"(1) The period of laissez-faire on the part of the governments, when education was largely left in the hands of missionaries; (2) the period of growing government interest as missionaries and government worked alongside each other; (3) the period of change as policies were questioned and reformulated during the inter war years; and (4) the period of growing state control and direction." (Watson, 1982:11)

Thus Watson stresses that policies in the British colonies gradually changed over the years.

Counter arguments to dependency theories also emphasise the contribution of indigenous populations to the development of education.

In this chapter, the main explanations of the development of colonial education systems will be introduced. Firstly, we will examine dependency and underdevelopment theories and the function of education systems developed by Frank, Bodenheimer, and CArnoy. This will be followed by the revisions of Cardoso and Faletto to dependency theories. Secondly, the counter-arguments to the dependency and underdevelopment theories by Clatworthy, Altbach and Kelly, Basu, Whitehead and Ball will be summarised.

4. Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories

A group of scholars called dependency theorists developed the concept of dependency which is used as a framework for analysis, to explain Latin American underdevelopment in relation to capitalist world economy. According to P. O'Brien, (1975) there are three main different traditions within the theory of dependency:

"one clearly stems from the ECLA* structuralist perspective, and should be seen as a continuation and deepening of that perspective. Another stems from a Marxist perspective, particularly that perspective which broke with the stultifying dogmatism of the Stalinist heritage." (O'Brien, 1975:11)

The third comes from mainly sociologists "who seem to straddle both the Marxian and structuralist perspectives" (ibid:11). Although these three groups vary in perspectives on political action according to their analysis, the basic view of Latin American underdevelopment is similar among them and the theory of dependency is said to be applicable to the underdevelopment of other parts of the world. In the following section, the main arguments of dependency theorists based on Marxist-Leninist theory, such as A.G. Frank and S. Bodenheimer are summarised and followed by M. Carnoy who analysed the function of education in dependency theories. The modified dependency theory by Cardoso and Faletto will be presented in the last part of this section.

The basic hypothesis of dependency theory is succinctly explained by Dos Santos as follows:

* ECLA stands for United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America.

"Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relation when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being on a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development." (Dos Santos, 1973:76)

The dependency theories based on Marxist-Leninist theory apply, in simple terms, Marx's theory of exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie to international relations. Less developed countries are exploited by industrial countries. Lenin's Imperialism is a process of the development of capitalism which dominates and exploits the underdeveloped countries. In Lenin's theory, two levels of monopolies developed. At one level, monopolization of production within the capitalist countries occurred, at the second level, a few rich countries occupied a monopolistic position in the production of manufactured goods. Imperialism based on economy leads to rivalry between the capitalist powers, and the conquest of territory is one of the consequences. The spread of capitalism created an international division of labour which benefited a small percentage of the world's population, and impoverished many of the world's peoples.

4-i A.G. Frank

A.G. Frank, who is one of the popularizers of this theory, argues that Latin American countries have been underdeveloped under the control of the metropolitan countries. The

interests of the capitalist groups in Latin America are pursued only when they are accorded with the interests of the Centre countries, so that the development of Latin America necessarily accompanied the development of the advanced countries. The surplus is automatically transferred to the Centre countries. As a result, the economic development of the Centre countries produced the underdevelopment of the Periphery. A relation between a Centre and a Periphery nation under Imperialism postulated by Galtung and Frank, quoted by Carnoy in Education as Cultural Imperialism, is as follows:

"(1) There is harmony of interest between the centre in the Centre nation and the centre in the Periphery nation, (2) there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Centre nations, (3) there is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Centre nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation." (Carnoy, 1974:46)

In this way, the cooperation of the centre group of the advanced capitalist nation and the centre group of the Periphery nation is a characteristic of the dependency theories.

Underdevelopment in the dependency theories is the historical product of the relations between the developed metropolis and the less developed peripheries. This notion of historical product is also applied to the colonial past as well as the present situation.

4-ii Susanne Bodenheimer

By extending dependency theories following the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of world system, Bodenheimer (1971)

elaborates the process in which the international system causes underdevelopment. Although an explanation of present Latin American dependency and underdevelopment cannot be used as an explanation for colonial situations directly, her notion of an infrastructure of dependency is important in understanding the functions of educational systems under colonial situations. The following is a summary of Bodenheimer's argument.

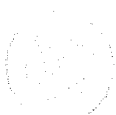
Susanne Bodenheimer uses a concept of 'international system', which "is the static expression and outcome of a dynamic historical process: the transnational or global expansion of capitalism", in order to explain Latin American dependency and underdevelopment. (Bodenheimer, 1971:332). According to Bodenheimer although characteristics of the international system and of Latin American function within it limit the possibilities for Latin American development, it does not follow that

"the international system causes underdevelopment directly; it does so indirectly, by generating and reinforcing within Latin America an infrastructure of dependency." (ibid:335)

Certain institutions, social classes, and processes (industrial structure, socioeconomic elites, urbanization, and so on) as part of the infrastructure of dependency collaborates with the dominant powers in the international system. It is through the infrastructure of dependency that the international system becomes operative within Latin America. (ibid:336)

Bodenheimer asserts that the existing theories which describe international relations such as 'Dependency theories', 'International Relations theories' or 'non-Marxist theories' are not satisfactory for the following reasons,

- (1) Dependency theories overemphasise the economic relationships and ignore other aspects such as ideological hegemony of the dominant nations and of local clientele elites. (ibid:343).
- (2) International Relations theories, in which the international context is depicted as an arena in which independent players bargain about competing or conflicting national interests, (ibid:344) overlook the limitations within the Latin American countries. Although most International Relations theories assume that "there exists at least a minimal autonomy and freedom of action for all nations as actors in the international arena", (ibid:346) an imperialistic relation between two or more nations implies "a decisive inequality between those nations, an exploitative relationship, and the crippling of the latter's autonomy." (ibid:346) Therefore, it is contradictory to assume that Latin America's governments make decisions by acting autonomously on equal terms as the United States. The United States and Latin American relations cannot be simply dealt as "policy choices". (ibid:345)
- (3) Non-Marxist interpretations such as expansionism including military intervention do not give any specific meaning to imperialism.



The common weakness of these explanations, according to Bodenheimer is that they neither explain the dependency of Latin America, nor the relationship between the public policies and dominant private interests within the dominant nations, which is the key to the dependency relationship between the United States and Latin America.

The Marxist theory of imperialism, in comparison with the theories described above, explains the dependency relationship as a stage in the development of capitalism as a world system. (ibid:347, 348)

The present development of multinational corporations necessitates political stability in the country where their investment turns into profit in the long run. In order to protect profit, the corporations influence the foreign policies of metropolitan government, which are then presented in a neutral form as state interest or public interest. At the same time, the multinational corporations' interest is presented with the cooperation of members of the clientele class within Latin America, who desire advantages from foreign companies. Thus, dependency is sustained internally and indirectly.

Bodenheimer calls the group of people who have a vested interest in the international system 'Clientele Classes'. Clientele classes act partly as junior partners of metropolitan interests and partly as dominant elites within their own societies. Bodenheimer includes the state

bureaucracy and other sectors of the middle class such as technical, professional, and intellectual elites as Clientele Classes.

4-iii Martin Carnoy

So far the arguments of dependency theories from a Marxist-Leninist view point have been briefly summarized. In the following, the function of education in dependency theories put by M. Carnoy is summarized.

The main points of Carnoy's arguments are as follows. Firstly, the argument that formal education systems act to offset social inequalities and inefficiencies because they are objective selectors of intelligent and rational individuals for the highest positions in the social, political, and economic hierarchy is misleading. Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination. Schooling was a tool of training the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer. The purpose of schooling was to develop and maintain, in the imperial countries, an inherently unequal and unjust organization of production and political power. (Carnoy, 1974:3) Secondly, although European and U.S.A. schooling brings people out of their traditional hierarchy, it also incorporates them into a capitalist hierarchy. While this process has elements of liberation, it includes elements of dependency and alienation. The school does not create the conditions in which the pupil can begin to liberate himself or herself.

Rather, the degree of liberation allowed by the school is controlled by those who are the most influential in setting goals of society. (ibid:14). Thirdly, schooling does not help people reach stages beyond the capitalist/foreign or other class-controlled hierarchy, but tries to fit people to the needs of that hierarchy. Fourthly, formal schooling has helped a few to control more effectively the lines of many rather than the many to understand and control the nature of progress and changes in their own lives. (ibid:24). Fifthly, schools in the imperial context are one of many institutions that produce the conditions of dependency and the psychological relations of colonialism. (ibid:33).

Carnoy extended Lenin's theory of Imperialism to schooling as incorporating people outside the advanced countries into the world economic and political structure in which they can be more effectively exploited by the advanced country.

Carnoy's arguments are applied to schooling under direct colonization, indirect colonization of Latin American countries and also to internal colonialism in the United States. In this way his arguments cover not only the past but the present situation, and attempt to show the changing role of schooling to meet the changing needs of the capitalist groups.

4-iv F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto

Cardoso and Faletto who basically stand with dependency theory oppose the prototype of dependency theory which is

expressed in crude terms as if situations of dependency are stable and permanent, and continuously and necessarily generate more underdevelopment and dependency. (Cardoso and Faletto 1979:x) They emphasize both aspects of social structures that is to say, the mechanisms of self-perpetuation and the possibilities for change.

In order to explain the two aspects of social structures, Cardoso and Faletto take a structural and historical approach. In their words,

"(T)he analyses have to make explicit not only structural constraints that reinforce the reiterative aspects of the reproduction of society, but have also to delineate chances for change, rooted in the very social interest and ideologies created by the development of a given structure." (ibid:xi)

Countries in Latin America which they analyse have a common feature which is based on capital economy and dependency. Yet the crucial moments of structural change and the process of capital expansion differ in each country. History is useful to explain social and political struggles in individual countries which give a form of capital expansion.

Cardoso and Faletto also oppose one dimensional interpretation of external exploitation and coercion. Instead, they take a view that the relationship between external and internal forces is rooted in common interests between local dominant classes and international ones, but at the same time, the relationship between external and internal forces is challenged by local dominated groups and classes.

(ibid:xvi) An historical approach describes the concrete differences between the countries in class struggles, in the formation of domination and reaction against the domination. Thus, with a structural and historical method, Cardoso and Faletto attempt to delineate how a general trend (industrial capitalism) creates concrete situations of the new dependency with features distinct from those of advanced capitalist societies. (ibid:xxii)

5. Counter-arguments to Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories

Dependency theories, will now be compared with other accounts which tend to describe individual colonial situations and their educational systems without relating each case to be a general theory of colonialism of colonialism. These accounts, however, give a wider range of views on the motives for the development of education systems and offer political and cultural causes against mono-economic-determinism. In the following section, direct or indirect criticisms of dependency theories, based on empirical research, will be presented. Firstly, we will summarise the function of schools presented by Altbach and Kelly. Secondly, we will consider British policy in India in the early 19th century by Basu. Thirdly, British educational policies in the first half of the 20th century by Clatworthy and Whitehead will be discussed. Finally, from the view point of curriculum, colonial imposition discussed by Ball will be examined. These writers oppose the notion of the entire imposition of the advanced countries' culture or education over the

colonized, and stress the participation of the indigenous population in the development of education systems in the colonies. Those who participated and who benefited from education are related to the notion of 'clientele classes' developed by Bodenheimer.

Altbach and Kelly take a view of the development of colonialism until the present time, which is described as "Classical colonialism", "Internal colonialism" and "Neo-colonialism" in Education and Colonialism (1978). Their view is similar to that of Carnoy, but they do not "deal with the root causes of colonialism or the motivations underlying the colonial enterprise." (Altbach and Kelly, 1978:1-2)

Albach and Kelly's view on colonial schools is summarised as follows:

"Schools which emerged in colonies reflect the power and the educational needs of the colonizers. While the educational systems that were established served some of the needs of the indigenous population simply as a result of the interaction between those making policy, the colonizers, and the colonized, schools were primarily designed to serve the needs of the colonizers. The aspirations of the colonized were for the most part ignored. Colonial administrators, when they took interest in education at all, were concerned with training literate clerks who could staff the lower ranks of the civil service." (ibid:2)

According to Altbach and Kelly, this ruler-ruled relationship, which was the base of colonialism, formed the characteristics of colonial schooling, (i) schools were irrelevant to the colonial society, (ii) the content of schooling was western biased rather than based upon a content

grown out of the colonial society's history and culture, (iii) schooling was selective to create elites. In addition, the function of colonial schools, which was not merely an exact imitation or a diluted version of metropolitan schools, was to accomplish a simultaneous obliteration of roots and the denial of the wherewithal to change, except on limited terms.

Yet, schools offered individuals a chance for social mobility and the population as a whole a chance for building new nations transformed from colonial states. This aspect of the active role of education opposes the notion of a passive role of the indigenous population in dependency theory.

In order to explain British educational policy in the colonies, it will be useful here to consider the motives behind the introduction of English education in India in 1835, by Basu. India has been a special country for Britain because of its early experience in education, which was regarded as an antecedent to African and Asian colonies. Examining the origin and the development of education systems in India helps to understand British colonial educational intentions.

Aparna Basu, (1978) in Education and Colonialism, opposes Carnoy's view of education systems as determined by the economy. From a historical research on India, Basu asserts that

"the decision to introduce English education in 1835 was the result of a combination of complex religious, moral,

political, administrative, and economic motives." (Basu, 1978:58)

For example, firstly, from a religious viewpoint, the promotion of Christianity was supported, as Christianity was thought to be superior to the Hindu religion. Secondly, from a moral viewpoint, European morality was preferred to Indian morality. Thirdly, from an administrative viewpoint, the employment of Indians reduced the cost of administration and also created mutual understanding between the British and the natives. Finally, from an economic point of view, the acquisition of English by the colonized could lead to the demand for British goods. (ibid, p.58). In this way, English education was imposed by the British in India, the motives for introducing English education in India were, according to this view, wider than economic intention.

With respect to the nature of British colonial education policy, Clatworthy argues that British colonial education policy between 1923 and 1948 was formulated with humanistic community development as its major value guidelines (Clatworthy, 1971:abstract) which supports a liberal notion of colonial education policy. Clatworthy also puts the stress on the educational perspective and level of individual members of the Advisory Committee rather than on structural factors.

According to Clatworthy, the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa in 1923 (which was called Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, after 1929) is attributable to J. Oldham who acted

between church and government, and unified individual organizations into a common goal for the development of the African.

The first official educational policy issued in 1925 placed emphasis on the development of human resources, adaptation to local needs, conservation of indigenous culture, and the development of the community for the benefit of all the people, although critics pointed out that (i) the 1925 policy was deeply influenced by contemporary American educationists who produced the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa, and tried to protect the vested interest of missionary societies, or (ii) attempted to "keep Africans in their place - a place whites had decided, not Africans" (ibid:110-111). The principles of the 1925 education policy were repeated through the 1920's and the 1930's. Supplementing the 1925 policy, the Advisory Committee recommended vernacular education for the first three years of schooling and the concept of grant -in-aid which reduced the total cost of the development of education system.

By the end of the 1940's, the Committee formulated the colonial education policy which became the basis of the present education system. These policies are listed as follows:

1. Report on the Educational Dependencies issued in 1933. In this report, the ultimate political goal was presented as the control of African education by Africans. In order to gain the goal, African

participation in local education authorities must be encouraged, and cooperation between all segments could be developed for the collective good of the community. (Educational Functions of Local Bodies in the Tropical African Dependencies, 1933:10 - quoted by Clatworthy, 1971:131).

2. Report on Compulsory Education issued in 1933.

The report suggested compulsory education for all colonial children for the purposes of reducing illiteracy (ibid:132-135).

3. Final Report of Sub-Committee to consider Higher Education in Africa in 1933.

This report recommended the establishing of African universities to grant degrees sponsored by British universities. "the Institutions identified as potential University degree granting institutions were Gordon College, Khartoum; Achimota, Gold Coast; Yaba, Nigeria; Fourah Bay; Sierra Leone; Makerere, Uganda." (ibid:139-140) The report also emphasised universities for an African need rather than English or American.

4. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities in 1935.

This memorandum re-confirmed the 1925 policy that an object of education was to advance the whole community in the following way.

"The concept of education for community development was linked with the need for economic development through improved health, agriculture, technical skills, and the necessary moral values that strengthened the bonds of social cooperation for mutual benefit rather than individual gain." (ibid:143).

5. Report of a Sub-Committee on the Education and Welfare of Women and Girls in Africa in 1943.

In this report, the following three recommendations were stressed: (i) the supplementation of the education of girls with the increase in adult female education, (ii) the increase in the number of positions for European women in the Departments of Education and Health, (iii) an increase of trained African women. (ibid:161).

6. Mass Education in African Society issued by Colonial Office in 1943.

This Colonial Office policy extended community education recommended by the Advisory Committee in past years by "considering the best approach to the problem of mass literacy and adult education, other than literacy, in the more backward dependencies." (ibid:164)

7. Education for Citizenship in Africa issued by Colonial Office in 1948.

This policy again emphasised education for the general public in relation to the needs of the community by illustrating how character training, or education for citizenship fit in with the educational guidelines previously published. (ibid:172-173).

Clatworthy argues, through these policies suggested by the Committee, that

"the spirit and letters of British colonial education policy was humanistic in its concern for the advancement of all people and its insistence on cooperation, social responsibility, democratic participation, and adaptation of the curriculum to the local environment." (ibid:193).

However it does not follow that education policies were in practice automatically humanistic in individual colonies since the Advisory Committee was powerless to implement these humanistic policies. As Clatworthy explains, the policies were heuristic, that is to say, the policies were an attempt to use general principles as guides for action. Although Clatworthy's view will be discussed at the end of this chapter, among other views, it is important to point out that empirical research on how colonial policies were implemented or not implemented are necessary.

Clive Whitehead also reviews British colonial education policies between the two World Wars and illustrates the paternalistic approach to the educational development in the colonies by the colonial officials despite the difficulties these people faced, which derived from the geographical distance between the metropolis and colonies, the cultural gap and the shortage of funds. The following is an explanation of actual colonial situations by Whitehead. It can be seen as a supplement to Clatworthy's research on colonial policy.

Clive Whitehead opposing economic determinism as the motive behind imperial expansion, stresses instead the indecisive nature of policies. He argues that British Colonial education policies reflected the nature and limitations of colonial government, the difficulties associated with interpreting the trusteeship principles, and the influence of local conditions in determining educational policy and practice, during the two World Wars. (Whitehead, 1981:72)

The claims made by the critics of British colonial education policies such as limited opportunities for education; racially-segregated schooling in multi-racial areas; the stress on European civilization and knowledge; the literary curriculum; or state intervention in order to supply administrative clerks are, for Whitehead, ideological.

For example, he argues that there was a gap between the expectations in the metropolis and the actual situations in the colonies caused by the following reasons:

- (1) The distance between the metropolis and colonial territories, and the non-existence of uniform colonial policy allowed decentralization of responsibility for the daily running of affairs.
- (2) Indirect rule based on trusteeship left the men on the spot to work with the cooperation of the native rulers.
- (3) In Parliament, colonial affairs rarely aroused more than passing interest in Britain owing to lack of any electorate for two reasons. Firstly, the colonized were not directly represented in Parliament, and secondly the British electorate showed little interest or concern for colonial issues.

Further, Whitehead considers that the progress of education systems was also influenced by inter-related factors such as the influence of the governor and other senior officials, the nature of the relationship between government and the missions, the strength of the local economy, the attitude of the local population towards schooling, and economic

depression in the 1930's. (ibid:74).

He argues that communal schooling was a result of the voluntarist principle which protected the right of people to select the school of their choice, rather than the intended discrimination in favour of a particular race. Uneven development in educational systems was the result of the lack of qualified teachers and financial resources in the colonies. Disadvantaged girls' education is also explained by the cultural attitudes of the indigenous people who expected girls to be married at an early age and to be restricted to domestic work. No prospect of future employment and the lack of women teachers were other reasons for underdevelopment of girls' education,

Literary education was not colonial policy but demanded by the indigenous people who saw the economic and social value of education. The Advisory Committee's White Paper in 1925 actually expressed the need to adapt education to local needs and conditions.

The aims of state intervention in schooling was not exclusively to lower clerical level, but it was directed by the financial difficulty faced by the missions and by a policy of local involvement on the basis of trusteeship which promoted locally employed civil servants. (ibid:78)

In addition to the above explanation, the ultimate function of schooling under colonialism, according to Whitehead, is a

means of generating "political awareness and the eventual demise of colonial rule" (ibid:78) as well as a means of introducing advanced Western knowledge in science and technology. In this way Whitehead opposes the view of imposition.

Stephen Ball also challenges the assumption of colonial imposition in his curriculum studies in colonies. He describes changes in the content of education, which reflected the desire of certain groups.

Ball opposes the assumption of imposition on the ground that (i) indigenous people played an important role in the process of dissemination of Western educational institutions, (ii) the history of colonial schooling was determined by the struggle between the colonial authorities, the missionaries (of various persuasions), particular groups within the indigenous peoples, other groups such as the immigrant Indians in East Africa and white settlers in South and East Africa, and international aid agencies, (iii) the economic frame of analysis given by Carnoy overestimates the economic, and concomitantly, underestimates the political functions of the colonial school. (Ball, 1983:237).

Ball distinguishes three types of curriculum in colonial schools such as the evangelical curriculum, the adapted curriculum and the academic curriculum, according to "radically different assumptions about the nature and purpose of schooling." (ibid:238)

The evangelical curriculum denotes schooling as a means of realising the missions' own religious ideal throughout the 19th century. Proselytization and conversion and the need, therefore, to attract children into the schools were the prime concern for the missionary. (ibid:239) The missionaries "as important agencies of the dissemination and inculcation of Western capitalist values" (Carnoy, 1974:11) is not sustained for the following reasons:

"It appears to misconceive the single-mindedness of the missionaries and the colonial and metropolitan governments and unrealistically glosses over the important differences in ideology between the different missionary societies. It also fails to take account of the important supply and demand relationship which underlay the 'success' of missionary activity." (Ball, 1983:239)

For example, the Church Missionary Society rejected the materialism of the capitalist industrial society and taught in the vernacular till the early twentieth century. However the Church Missionary Society was forced to change the curriculum in order to respond to the indigenous people's desire for English education. The Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya seems to have been the case asserted by Carnoy, although Ball argues that "in general terms Carnoy's emphasis remains too crudely economistic." (ibid:241) The Church of Scotland missionaries saw "the incorporation of the African into wage labour as an effective means of inculcating the disciplines of their faith" and the cooperation between the mission, the colonial government and the settlers seem to have worked well in terms of schooling. (ibid:240-241).

The adapted curriculum denotes schooling supported by the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office attempted to adapt

school curriculum to the native life as a criticism of the 'bookish' nature of the curriculum offered in the native schools and the attributes and attitudes of the graduates of these academically oriented schools. (ibid:242) However the native Africans resisted the colonial policies and tried to increase the provision of primary schools, secondary and further education. Schools were seen as a source of political disturbance by the Colonial Government, but schools were a source of material superiority and a route for individual social mobility. The increase in the number of the independent schools in Kenya shows the role taken by the native Africans;

1935	34	independent schools	2510 pupils
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1938	41	independent schools	6494 pupils
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(ibid:257)

Thus Ball opposes the function of schooling as social control asserted by Carnoy, and stresses the role played by the indigenous people.

6. Summary of Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories and the Counter-Arguments

We will now review the arguments on the function of colonial education systems. As has been explained in the first chapter, the scarcity of the existing literature concerned with the functions of colonial education systems together with the complexities and of the differences in colonial history makes it difficult to assess the function of colonial education systems.

We have considered dependency theories (together with their educational implications) and the criticisms of dependency theories. In many dependency theories, capitalist economy is the motive of colonialism. We have excluded psychological explanations of a colonial situation put by Mannoni (1956) or Memmi (1965) because although the inter-actional situation between people from advanced countries and people in 'primitive' societies may be explained by two different cultural backgrounds, there are other situations which are not explained by the psychological explanations such as political or economic struggles between the colonizer and the colonized.

In comparison with psychological explanations of colonial situations, the strength of dependency theories is that they appear to offer solutions to present world problems as well as explaining how a world system works. Suggestions for political action are different according to each theory.

Dependency theories, however, have theoretical problems for the following reasons:

Firstly, the solutions offered for present problems are contradictory and raise questions of the origin of change. For example, if the educational system is to be a place from which change occurs, it is also a part of other social systems which maintain and reproduce social relations (Carnoy, 1974). Students are selected according to their social strata which in turn determine the social consequences

of schooling. How then could schools function as a place for a new direction for change? Thus, Carnoy and many other dependency theorists such as Dos Santos or Frank, have a problem in explaining how change can take place. However as we have shown previously, Cardoso and Faletto (1979) assert that there is room for alternatives in history in spite of structural "determination".

Historically educational institutions became leading sites of criticisms of the contemporary politics or society as a whole. In colonial situations the British governors in Africa were aware of the danger of producing a number of highly educated unemployed who could be, in the first half of the twentieth century, leaders of political unrest. This was one of the reasons that educational policies were changed from a European-oriented education to adapted education so that the number of the highly educated could be restricted.

Secondly, the assertion that a solution for the world problems is to change the capitalist economic structure is problematic. The question is what is to replace the system. So called communist or socialist countries adopt different economic structures, but, it is well known that the Soviet Union is stratified by income and occupation, and education is the principal means of assigning people to their respective roles. The case in Cuba and China also shows the difficulty in realising the two functions of education in a harmonious way, that is to say, fulfilling revolutionary ideology and responding to economic strategies. For instance,

in Cuba, distribution was changed from the communist principle of according to need (practised in 1966-1970) to the socialist system of according to work after the 13th Congress of the CTC (Confederation of Cuban Workers). In 1974, technical and managerial personnel were to be paid more. In this way complexity of the job was to be measured as well as physical effort. (Mesa-Lago, 1974:43) In the revolutionary ideology, people's initiative in learning is respected. Yet the number of drop outs in the secondary school was a serious concern. (ibid:93) In China, a similar problem was observed. Although a combination of work and study was stressed, the regulation of manual labour depended on material conditions of the difference between rural schools and urban schools. Teaching "by enlightenment" was considered to be true revolutionary pedagogy, but not for all stages of learning. (Bastid, 1974:126-7) Thus, the function of educational systems under capitalist, socialist or communist countries appear to differ little. An assertion of a reflexive relationship between capitalist economic structure and the form of education system is therefore misleading.

The above criticism returns us to the basis of dependency theories.

Although the notion of clientele classes, put by several dependency theorists and elaborated by Bodenheimer is important as it explains how international systems work, it also has the problem of how to explain radicals who are members of the clientele classes and yet become the leader of

opponents to the existing society. Cardoso and Faletto solve this theoretical problem within dependency theory. They assert that social relations are determined structurally, at the same time struggles between classes and groups of people can change social relations in a given structure. Thus there is room for a change. In order to describe a decisive moment when a change in social relations occurs, both a structural and a historical approach is necessary.

On the other hand, the criticisms offered by Altbach and Kelly, and others whom I mentioned previously are in part acceptable as they present concrete examples.

For example, Clatworthy argues that the British colonial policy between 1923 and 1948 was "humanistic in its concern for the advancement of all people and its insistence on cooperation, social responsibility, democratic participation, and adaptation of the curriculum to the local environment" (Clatworthy, 1971:193), as we have quoted previously. On the difference between the policies suggested by the Colonial Office and the actual procedures in the colonies, Clive Whitehead points out that colonial problems including education were solved by men on the spot in individual territories because of the geographical distance between the metropolis and colonial territories, the difficulty in interpreting indirect rule, the non-existence of uniform policy and the indifference of British politicians to colonial matters. Although adapted education for the community was the official policy between the 1920's and the

1940's as Clatworthy argues, Whitehead and Ball, both argue that literary education was demanded by the indigenous people who saw the economic and social value of education. Thus Ball and Whitehead affirm that the educational content, whether English oriented or adapted curriculum, was decided by struggles between the colonial governors, settlers, missionaries, indigenous people, and so opposed to the cultural imposition argument. Altbach and Kelly oppose dependency theories on the ground that in reality social mobility for individuals and national development through education occur which many dependency theories deny. Basu also opposes the economic determinism of dependency theories since he takes a view that a combination of various motivations led to introduce English education in India.

Nevertheless, certain weaknesses are evident in these arguments. Although each argument is based on an evidence within a specific historical period, the interpretation of each case study lacks a consideration about the wider context in which each case is to be interpreted, and the fundamental factors which created the situation in each case.

For example, over the last one hundred years of colonial reign, the British colonial education policies were changed as has been mentioned previously. Education policies in India in the first half of the 19th century were to follow English education. Yet it was recognised that imposing British education caused serious internal political unrest in India in the middle of the 19th century. The experience of

English oriented education policy and its consequences in India alarmed British administrators concerned with colonial policy in Africa and Asia when the British expanded her territory. On the one hand a certain number of educated indigenous personnel for civil service and commerce was in demand, on the other hand the number of clerical jobs was limited in most of the colonies. The colonial youth having obtained English certificates expected to attain a clerical position. The competition for limited places drove the people to get higher certificates and at the same time the number of unemployed youths increased and caused political unrest. A consequence was that the British government began to stress mass education in vernacular, which was more related to an agrarian society. The interpretation of education policies by Clatworthy should be read against this background. Although the British colonial education policies presented a humanistic character in the first half of the 20th century as Clatworthy asserts, they were actually related to stabilisation of political conditions in the colonies.

The adaptation policy in education, however, created a gap between primary education for the mass and post primary education in English for a selected few. Educational difference led to different job prospects and consequently social prestige. Once a connection between British educational qualifications and white collar jobs was recognised, demands for English education became strong. A change in mission schools from education in vernacular to

English is partly explained by this demand. Further the collaboration between the British government and missionaries was partly attributable to financial problems. From the government view point, the grant-in-aid was cheaper than the running of state schools, and from the missions' view point, the grant-in-aid was a compromise to allow freedom from government intervention despite receiving funds. Thus, Ball's description of three different curricula should also be read against this background of colonial development.

So far we have discussed dependency theories and their revision, and counter-arguments against the theories as an initial orientation to our study. As we have seen, in the literature on education systems under colonial rule, the question of "imposition" is the centre of the argument. Yet, in the literature on both sides, the role of external examinations has been neglected. As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, British external examinations may well be vital factors which shaped educational systems in the British colonies.

The analysis of the way external examinations were introduced in the colonies and the development of external examinations should help to understand the question of "imposition" and educational systems under colonial rule. However, as time and space for research are limited, we have chosen to study the University of London Colonial Examinations, the most important among other external examinations.

In the following chapter, the development of the University of London Colonial Examinations will be described in relation to the general activities of the University of London, and with respect to the result of the examinations, and examination places. This will provide a background to case studies in three colonies which will then follow.

We will in the subsequent chapters present our findings and then use these findings to test the major theories in the field which have been discussed in this chapter. In this sense, we will return to the dependency theory and offer modifications based upon our own research.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL BACKGROUND TO UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS

1. Introduction

As has been described in the previous chapters, the existing literature on colonial education asserts that there had been no British Government educational policies in the colonies till the British Advisory Committee on Education was set up in 1923. According to Clatworthy, however, the policies presented by the Advisory Committee were heuristic, that is to say, the policies were only guidelines which had no executive power. It would follow that there were no educational policies in the colonies before the end of World War II although the Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa established in 1923, which became the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in 1929, presented their views on key issues, which have been shown in the previous chapter.¹ It also follows that the development of educational systems in the British colonies varied from one colony to another. However, we have previously proposed that educational systems in the British colonies did show a unified form following the British educational system, and that the external examinations were the most influential factor in the unification of the educational system in different colonies. We have also suggested that the University of London Colonial Examinations were most important among external examinations for both the British administrator and the colonial people as the London

qualifications enabled then holders to become colonial administrators.

This chapter attempts to describe the genesis and the development of the ULCE, to be followed by an analysis of the ULCE of Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon as case studies.

This chapter consists of four sections. One of the necessary conditions for the implementation of the ULCE was that the colony had good facilities for secondary and higher education. In this connection, the first section will look at the situation of educational systems in the British colonies around 1900, from which the candidates were selected for the ULCE. This section will also explore whether a unified education system developed in the various colonies. The second section will describe the university movement of the British Empire in the first half of the 20th century. This movement will give a background to the position of the University of London. The third section will describe a brief history of the University of London in relation to the development of the ULCE. The last section of this chapter will discuss the implication of the ULCE in the colonial era.

2. Situation of Colonial Educational Systems around 1900

This section attempts to describe the general educational systems in the British Empire around 1900. It aims to show a connection between British educational policies and London University Colonial Examinations. As examining the history of education in each colony is beyond this research, we will

use the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" (Board of Education, 1900, 1905), and will focus on the following points.²

(i) The role of local government and the role of British government in the development of education in the British Empire around 1900.

(iii) The stage of development of higher education around 1900 in the colonies.

These questions are related to the view that there were no educational policies in the colonies before the end of World War II, and as a consequence educational systems were not imposed on the colonies by the British.

Instead of accepting the proposition that there were no educational policies because the British government did not issue official statements on individual educational problems, we will explore how education was treated in wider colonial policies. For example, the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects", which were the first official reports on educational systems in the British Empire issued by the Board of Education from 1897 to 1909 as a part of educational reports on Britain and other parts of the world, reveal a similar pattern of educational systems in the colonies.

Before going into a description of educational systems of the British colonies and dependencies, some points must be raised about the Reports prepared by the Works of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, the Board of Education. These will help to understand the development of educational

systems in the British Empire.

The office of Special Inquiries and Reports was created as a small additional branch of the Education Department in 1895. The duty of the Office was defined as that of "keeping a systematic record of educational work and experiments, both in this country and abroad, and also to obtain and supply questions which may be referred to the director by the Lords of the Committee. (Mowatt, 1894:5) Michael Sadler held the Office as the first Director for eight years and resigned the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, explaining that "the point at issue being proposals which, in his judgement, would impair the scientific value and thoroughness as well as the practical efficiency of the work of his office." (Board of Education, 1903:69)

During the eight years, M. Sadler and his staff collected, both in Britain and abroad, educational information for official use. The information, apart from a strictly confidential character, was kept in the Reference Library of the Board of Education for public use, and was used as guidance for foreign visitors for the purpose of studying educational questions in England and for British people who were going abroad for educational purposes. The series of "Special Reports on Educational Subjects", which we are going to examine, were one of these Office activities. The publication of Reports on Colonial education as a part of a series was planned "after the celebration of the completion of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign." (Board of

Education 1900, Vol.4:iii). According to M. Sadler, the series was "in use in Government departments, universities, training colleges, etc., all over the world. (Sadler, 1903:47).

From the papers written by M. Sadler before his resignation of the Office, it is assumed that Sadler perceived the importance of national education from the viewpoint of national power. For example, he writes that

"[The] welfare of the nation and its commercial and individual prosperity depend to a considerable degree on national educational efficiency; and in order to secure such efficiency it is necessary that the nation and the Board of Education should have at their command accurate, timely and practical information as to educational progress and developments both at home and abroad." (ibid:45)

It is because of this reason that

"the public in this country, and throughout the Empire, should be kept informed of the educational developments in those countries in Europe and elsewhere, which are our commercial competitors." (ibid:44)

He stressed the nature of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports as an efficient intelligence department in educational matters as in naval or military matters. According to Sadler the difference between the work and object of an intelligence department at the War Office or at the Admiralty, and that of an intelligence department in national education is that the chief work of the former is the secret collection of information about possible enemies with a view to the right framing of plans, for war, or for the averting of war, and the work and object of the latter is to collect, summarise and publish various kinds of educational experience with a view to promoting united

efforts towards increased educational efficiency, with a view to the nations social unity and economic welfare. (ibid:45).

Although the true reason for his resignation of the Director of the Office after eight years' services is not clear from the Papers presented by the Board of Education, (ibid) it is assumed that one of the reasons for the resignation was attributable to the disagreement between Sadler and the Board of Education on how to use the information collected. Sadler took a firm stand that the Office of Special Inquiries had a scientific and investigative duty as well as a strictly administrative one. It would have been wrong for him

"if the Office of Special Inquiries, instead of doing full justice to both sides in an educational controversy, were to prepare reports with the design of influencing public opinion in favour of particular administrative aims or views which might happen to be cherished by the Board of Education for the time being." (ibid:60)

Thus the background of the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" reveals that consolidation of the national education system and obtaining information about educational systems of home and foreign countries including colonies were urgent from the viewpoint of international competition.

Although the Reports have some weaknesses enumerated as follows, the material is still valuable for our purpose.

- (i) Figures used in the Reports are taken from different years in each country.
- (ii) The definition of terms such as school age, primary and higher education differs according to a country.

(iii) The figures given in the Reports cannot be compared for the reason of (ii).

(iv) The Reports are mainly about Government schools and denominational schools which were in government assistance, as these schools were inspected by the government inspectors. The private schools without government assistance were often not reported in the same degree as the assisted schools.

If we bear in mind deficiencies in the Reports given above, the figures can still be used as an indication of the educational condition in the colonies and dependencies around 1900, most of which took ULCE sometime between 1900 and 1939.

According to the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects", the education systems in the British colonies and dependencies around 1900 can be summarised as follows.

Figures are compiled from the Reports.

2-i Administration

(i) In many colonies and dependencies about 1900 education was administered by an independent body from other administrative branches. For example, 28 colonies among 48 had Education Departments or Boards of Education. 8 out of 48 were administered by Public Instruction, which implies that the education department was not separated. 12 out of 48 did not show clearly the position of education in the administrative structure.

(ii) The person in charge of education varied from colony to colony. Although education was administered separately, a person in charge held the post concurrently in more than half of the colonies.

The position of the person in charge of education

Governor/High Commisioner	19	concurrent
Director of Public Instruction/Secretary	4	
Minister, Superintendent, Director of Education	15	independent
Not clear	10	
<hr/>		
Total	48	

(iii) Local administration in education varied according to the size of colonies and the stage of development of public education.

2-ii Condition of Schooling

(i) Compulsory education was in force as follows:-

Compulsory education in force	18	(Mainly in Canada and Australia)
Compulsory but not in force	4	
Not compulsory	15	
Not clear	11	
<hr/>		
Total	48	

There was no fee or only a small fee in most of the colonies where compulsory education was in force.

The period of compulsory education varied from colony

to colony between 5 and 11 years.

Period of Compulsory education	Age	The number of colonies
5 years	7-12	3
6	7-13	3
6	8-14	1
7	5-12	1
7	6-13	2
8	6-14	3
8	7-14	2
10	5-15	1
11	4-15	1
11	5-16 (or 6-16)	1

18

(ii) The proportion of the number on the roll at state schools and schools assisted by the government, to the total population, perhaps indicates the development of public education. For example, the following figures roughly show the stage of public education in geographically grouped areas.

Dominion of Canada	around 20%	(except British Columbia which is 12.6%)
Australia	around 18%	(3 places are not clear)
West Indies	around 13%	(British Honduras 9.1%)
South East Asia	1-5%	
Africa	0.2-10%	

The proportion in Lagos was as high as 10.4%. It seems that this population did not include the population of Yoruba. The Reports of African colonies seem to have been limited to the cities.

On the other hand, if the number on the rolls at private schools is included in the number on the rolls at state

schools and schools assisted by the State, the above figures are slightly increased as follows:-

Dominion of Canada	20-24%	(except British Columbia which is 12.6%)
Australia	around 22%	(3 places are not clear)
West Indies	10-17%	
South East Asia	1-6%	
Africa	1-16%	

[The number on the rolls in this case includes primary to university. That is to say the number indicates the school population at every stage of schooling. However the number in higher education is very small.]

(iii) In the Dominion of Canada, higher education was accessible in most of the territory except North West Territory, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island. Other colonies which had colleges³ or universities were Australia, New Zealand, Malta, Barbados, Cape Colony, and Sierra Leone. If the area is grouped geographically, the following numbers except Canada are shown as follows:-⁴

3 universities for Australia (6 colleges were affiliated to 2 universities)
 1 university for New Zealand (4 colleges were affiliated)
 1 university for Malta
 1 college for West Indies
 1 university for Cape Colony (8 colleges were affiliated)
 1 college for Sierra Leone

(iv) External Examinations were held in 26 colonies and dependencies out of 48. 17 different examinations were carried out, and 13 out of 17 were managed by British organisations.⁵ The external examinations covered needle work to degree examinations. It seems that external examinations were used for specific qualifications which individual colonies could not offer at a particular time.

This brief description of the educational situation in the British colonies around 1900 gives certain general features, although each colony had problems which were different from those of others.

Generally speaking, Canada and Australia had formed the basis of the modern public school system by 1900. That is to say, the nature of education was transferred from a religious to a non-sectarian base.⁶ At the same time the state, central and local, took the responsibility for free primary education⁷ and education was open from primary to university level, although only a small proportion of the pupils entered high school, and of those who attended secondary schools, only a fraction was enrolled in universities. (Board of Education, 1900, Vol.4:47)

With regard to the West Indies, public school systems of primary education were being formed around 1900. That is to say, although the educational expense was largely contributed by the Government, and pupils paid either no fees or small fees, the nature of education was denominational rather than non-sectarian based. Public educational systems in colonial islands such as the West Indies where public revenue depended largely on the sugar plantation was influenced by the colonial economic situation. For example, one of the Commissioners' tasks for an enquiry into the System of Education in Jamaica was

"to report whether the education at present given is calculated to inculcate a sense of duty and responsibility and to impart useful knowledge; to

suggest such changes in the educational system as might appear to them calculated to secure efficiency and economy." (ibid:624)

The West India Royal Commission was also urged to

"make an inquiry into the condition and prospects of the Colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and the Leeward Islands, and to suggest such measures as appeared calculated to restore and maintain the prosperity of these Colonies and of their inhabitants." (Report of the West India Royal Commission, p.1;1898 C.8655, L,1.)

As the sugar industry in the colonies was in danger of extinction, certain changes in the public educational systems in the Islands were necessary in order to improve the economic situation. Suggestions made by the Commissioners such as establishing a Department of Economic Botany in the West Indies,⁸ at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer, setting up agricultural schools attached to the botanic stations, as the best means of cultivating tropical plants, and giving elementary training in agriculture, as a part of the course of education in the public schools (Board of Education, 1900, Vol.4:802) were all a part of a long term policy of economy as well as of education. The survey of the general educational situation in the West Indies therefore implied an adjustment to educational planning. The total expenditure in order to cope with the expecting depression grew from about £95,000 in 1882, to nearly £180,000 in 1896, which shows an increase of about 90 per cent. (ibid.)

In the colonies in Africa, the educational condition varied from one place to another. For example, in Basutoland, learning was theoretically as open to the native as to the son of the European colonist, (Board of Education, 1905

Vol.13:132) from smaller day schools to studies for the Pupil Teachers' Certificate or for the Examinations of the Cape University, although few had "the ability and perseverance to get beyond a moderate pass for the Teachers' Certificate or the Schools Elementary Examination of the University."

(ibid) In Lagos, 16.2% of the population received instruction of some kind, of which 10.4% of the population received schooling under government assistance. On the other hand, in Southern Rhodesia, the education system for the European children was said to be established and practically all the schools for white children were receiving government aid (ibid:160) but the proportion of children who were enrolled at school was only 0.1% of the whole population which included the number of natives.

In Asia, the proportion of children who enrolled at school to the population was rather low compared with other regions. For example, in Federated Malay States, the proportion was 1.2%, 2.6% in Straits settlements, 2.7% in Hong Kong and 5.3% in Ceylon.⁹ The proportion of average attendance to the population must have been lower than these numbers.

In some of the British colonies which the British took over from other colonial countries by a treaty or other means, education was assisted by the government as a part of strengthening British influence.¹⁰ For example, in the Cape Colony, dissemination of education, following educational practice in Britain, was encouraged from the second year under the English government. English as the language of the

Cape Colony was proclaimed in 1822¹¹ and English as a medium at school was maintained throughout the 19th century. In the Cape Colony, schools were grouped into three types, Undenominational Public Schools, Mission Schools and Aborigines Schools. Government assistance and English education were tied together under the differentiated policy on payment of teachers, management, buildings, teachers' qualifications, school hours on those schools. With respect to the means of instruction in the case of all public schools where education was intended for the wealthy white population, the medium of instruction was to be English. In mission schools for the children of less wealthy parents, the medium was to be English as far as practicable. In aborigines schools for natives, English or the indigenous language, or both were to be used. (Board of Education, 1900, Vol.5:40) In Gibraltar the recognised official language was English and a government grant was given for the promotion of English (Board of Education 1905, Vol.12:447) although the teachers had to acquire a practical knowledge of Spanish in order to make use of Spanish as a medium for teaching as Spanish was the current language in Gibraltar.

However different policies were adopted in Asia where the population was made up of a mixture of different races, speaking many languages. For example, Malay vernacular education was free and English education was as a rule paid for in the Straits settlements. (Board of Education, 1905 Vol.14:140) The provision of English education was left chiefly to voluntary organisations such as missionary and

religious bodies under government assistance in finance and administration. In the Federated Malay States, a similar policy was in place (ibid:8-12). However despite the imposing of school fees, the number of students at English schools substantially increased, while the numbers in the vernacular schools decreased as the following figures show (ibid:20).

Table 3.1: Number of schools in average enrolment in the
Federated Malay States

	English		Vernacular	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1898	1037	86	6750	252
1899	1102	215	6957	237
1900	1331	298	6260	234

Source: Board of Education "Special Reports on Educational Subjects", Vol.14, 1905:20.

Apart from English as the means of instruction, manual education was also emphasized by almost all the colonial governments in particular its relation to morality. For example, the Cape Colony government made the 'literary' instruction, which the South African aborigines were to receive in the native schools, to be purely elementary. Schools were to be among other institutions such as the workshop, and the Christian Church as agencies for transforming the native savage into a citizen, capable of understanding his duties and of fulfilling them. That is to

say, "the tackling needsan industrial substratum in its disciplines." (Board of Education, 1900, Vol.5:87) The urgent matter for the Government was therefore

"to find out the best method to be followed in the schools for the purpose of humanising the aboriginal youth, of winning them from their fondness for an idle and dissolute life, of training them to habits of orderly obedience to the law of the country that protects them, and to the masters who may employ them, and generally of fitting them for the busy life on lines which in our civilised society are regarded as moral." (ibid:88)

Perhaps the following statement in "The Educational Work of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast: Its Method in Combining Industrial and Manual Training with other Influences indispensable to the Formation of the Character of the Native Race" by the Rev. W.J. Rottmann, Principal of the Basel Mission Training School for Catechists and Teachers, Akropong, Gold Coast, represents the attitude of the European including the British towards education of the natives in Africa:-

Education has always been a difficult problem with regard to the African Tribes, considering the degraded state of minds based upon heathenism and the low state of civilization. The condition of the people to be educated being such it will be universally acknowledged that a mere imparting of knowledge and literary training will not be sufficient but that there must be combined with it a training in useful industries, a most energetic influence on the character and a decisive work upon the will of the natives." (Board of Education, 1905 Vol.13:297)

Manual education, including agricultural and industrial, was also emphasized as the majority of the natives in colonies were expected to follow an agricultural life. For example, a report on Manual and Technical Instruction presented to both Houses of the General Assembly of New Zealand in 1898

sees education relating to a life after schooling.

"Our New Zealand system of primary instruction may, I am sure, follow with advantage the changes made in England. Our children undoubtedly learn to read, write and cipher, but this is not what is required in a colony such as New Zealand, where fully 90 per cent of our school children must enter agricultural or industrial pursuits Children should be taught how to work and to love work - that is, if education means fitting for his future." (Board of Education, 1900 Vol.5:737)

In Canada around 1900, several manual training schools were opened, and manual training was introduced at many public schools, for which teachers were trained and taught experience abroad such as in Great Britain, Sweden and the United States. (Board of Education, 1900 Vol.4:537)

The emphasis on manual training in the colonies seems to have been encouraged by the Report of the Commissioners on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland issued in 1898 (Commissioners on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, 1898, C.8923 XLIV.1). After examination of manual training in England, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland and the United States apart from Ireland, the Report concluded that manual and practical instruction ¹²

"ought to be introduced, as far as possible, into all schools where it does not at present exist, and that, in those schools where it does exist, it ought to be largely developed and extended." (ibid:2)

This conclusion is based on a conviction that

"such a change will not involve any detriment to the literary education of the pupils, while it will contribute largely to develop their faculties, to quicken their intelligence, and to fit them better for their work in life." (ibid)

By 1900, the educational systems in Canada and Australia took the basis of their present shape as was the case in other parts of the British Empire.

One of the characteristics of modern education is that public education is supported by public money. This characteristic is also seen in the colonies. The process of transition of the responsible body for education is seen in the introduction of grant-in-aid. Grants were given in some colonies in the early period of their history without any condition, but grants became a means of control of education when grants imposed some conditions. For example, grants were paid on the certificates of teachers, on the average attendance of a certain number of pupils or on the results of the annual examination of the schools in most of the colonies. Although the local government did not force educational organizations to accept grants and left them free to pursue their own educational ideal as long as they could manage financially, lack of funds drove most of denominational organisations to accept grants by the end of the 19th century. However accepting grants meant that the applicants had an obligation to report the school activities and follow the standard set by the government. The administrative guidance was carried by inspectors who examined the conditions of schools, management, school activities as such. In this way, denominational schools, most of which pioneered education in the colonies, were absorbed into the British system of education. The following

years indicate the time of introduction of inspectors in the colonies, which will suggest that local governments interfered in education before 1900.

Introduction of inspectors

Dominion of Canada

Ontario	
Quebec	
Nova Scotia	
New Brunswick	
Manitoba	1890
North-West Territories	
British Columbia	1887
Prince Edward Island	1877
Newfoundland	1895

West Indies

Jamaica	1864
British Guiana	1852
Bahamas	1865
Barbados	1850
Bermuda	1838
British Honduras	1879
Trinidad & Tobago	
Grenada	(1857?)
St. Lucia	1847
St. Vincent	1893

Australia

New South Wales	
Victoria	1872
Queensland	1875
Tasmania	(1846?)
South Australia	1851
Western Australia	1847
New Zealand	(1877?)
Fiji	1890

Africa

Cape Colony	(1807)
under the name of the School Commission then, the Bible and School Commission.	
Gold Coast	1887
Lagos	1887
Sierra Leone	1869
Southern Nigeria	1901
Bastoland	1892
(by an inspector of schools in the Cape Education Department)	

Asia

Ceylon	(1869?)
Federated Malay States	1898
Hong Kong	(1860)
The Straits Settlements	1872

Southern Rhodesia	1899
Uganda	
Mauritius	1856
Seychelles	1883
Natal	(1877?)

Others

Falkland	(1895?)
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Europe

Malta	(1881)
St. Helena	1874
Cyprus	1880
Gibraltar	(around 1879)

Source: Board of Education, 1900, Vols.4,5 1905, Vol 12,13,14

With respect to the consolidation and standardization of educational systems in the direction of modern public education, it is important to consider internal communications between the Colonial Office and local governments. For example, Mr. (afterward Sir) P.J. Keenan who was at the time an Inspector of Schools under the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and subsequently himself Resident Commissioner was selected by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inquire into and report upon the state of Education in Trinidad in 1869. (Board of Education, 1905, Vol 12:179) Mr. E. Fairfield of the Colonial Office was sent out to confer with the Commissioner on the finances and administration of Cyprus in 1883. (ibid:412) Following his report, Lord Derby proposed to remedy the inappropriate distribution of grants to Moslem schools and Christian schools. (ibid:412-413) In 1868, Mr. J.S. Laurie, Educational Commissioner was sent out by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to report on the state of education in Sierra Leone. As a result of his report, a grant -in-aid system was introduced and a Director of Public Instruction, who was to inspect schools, was appointed.

The standardization of educational systems in administration and content is evidenced by the imposition of tax for educational purposes, which required the sending of commissioners to report on educational conditions. At the same time, the introduction of the grant-in-aid and school inspectors implied an indirect control of education. It was

indirect because the local and the metropolitan government did not impose educational policies directly on voluntary organisations.

Voluntary bodies were free to apply for government grants, but once they accepted the grants, they were obliged to follow government policies. The following extract from the Report by the Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong explains the indirect control of the system:

"The government, for its own ends, offers an education to all who care to accept it, and for its own ends gladly avails itself of the gratuitous services which are tendered by a company of gentlemen and ladies, whom certain religious communities in Europe subsidise for their own ends. Where the Government desires to bring educated Europeans in contact with the Chinese to Anglicise them, there it finds European enthusiasts ready to hand, whose charges are borne, not by taxpayers of Hong Kong, but by the collection boxes not only of the United Kingdom, but also of France, Italy, and Germany. Practically, in the majority, at any rate, of the Primary Schools, the teachers, knowing that their livelihood depends on their scholars obtaining the grant, having very little time to instruct them in anything outside the grant subjects." (Board of Education, 1905 Vol.14:83)

3. The Role of Universities in the British Empire

As we have seen previously, higher education was available mainly in European settled colonies around 1900. The University of London Colonial Examinations was one of the various external examinations available in the colonies. However the Royal Commission recommended the University of London to discontinue the Colonial Examinations, which we will discuss later. Accordingly the Senate of the University of London asked colonies about the possibility of the discontinuation of colonial examinations. Half of the

colonies expressed their wish for continuation of the examination. After 1900, however, the University of London revealed an interest to play a positive role as the Metropolitan University as the cases of Hong Kong and Ceylon showed. Although the reason for this change is not clear from the Senate Minutes, it seems reasonable to assume that the reason for the change lies in the expansion of Britain around 1900. In this section, a movement towards the advancement of higher education and the cooperation between the universities in the British Empire will be briefly described. We will focus upon the Allied Colonial Universities Conference in 1903 and the following Congress of the Universities of the Empire held every 6 years after 1912. These Conferences will provide evidence of the link between the universities and the British Empire, and also the background to the development of the ULCE in the first half of the 20th century.

The Allied Colonial Universities Conference in 1903, where representatives from 53 universities of the British Empire attended, made a resolution to establish an organization aiming

"(i) to develop the intellectual and moral forces of all the branches of our race wherever they dwell, and therewith also to promote learning, science and through which science is applied to the purposes of life, (ii) to strengthen the unity of the British people dispersed throughout the world." (Cooke, 1903:91)

One of the functions of the organisation to be created was to

"help the colonial universities to raise their own standards of teaching and to supply them with larger endowments and better appliances for enabling them to discharge their functions." (ibid:93)

The aims expressed above such as development of higher learning and the unification of the British Empire in "the political as well as the social and moral connection" (ibid:96) between the colonies and Britain were stressed in almost every speech at the Congress.

At the following Congresses of the Universities of the Empire, the current problems on the coordination of universities of the British Empire were discussed. Topics for discussion included administration, inter-university arrangements for post graduate and research students, residential facilities, including colleges and hostels in connection with universities, condition of entrance, and interchange of university teachers.

Further the expectation of a University of Hong Kong and a proposal for establishing a School of Advanced Legal Studies at the third congress of the Universities of the Empire also show the relation between educational institutions and the Empire.

According to H.G. Earle, Professor of physiology of the University of Hong Kong who submitted a paper on "An Imperial Policy in Education" at the congress, the establishment of the University of Hong Kong, officially opened in 1912, was the beginning of an Imperial Policy in education, "since it was designed to show that the British care for culture as well as for trade, and that they recognise the value of education in cementing the friendship of nations." (Earle,

1926:117) The Imperial Policy in education also meant that

"the Universities have a part to play as well as the men of commerce, the missionaries, and the State in creating the right type of relations between the nations of the East and West." (ibid:122)

In his speech at the Third Congress in 1926, Earle stressed the role of the University of Hong Kong not as the higher education of the citizens of the colony but also as a part of an imperial force. (ibid:121) For this reason training of engineers and doctors was stressed. (ibid:121) Yet, he still recognised that an educational policy was to be framed and executed by the universities themselves and organised through some such central body as the University Bureau. (ibid:122) The University of Hong Kong had some relations with the following British institutions: the recognition of its medical degrees by the General Medical Council and by the Royal Colleges; the award of honours to its engineering graduates by the University of London; the privileges of affiliation granted by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and recognition given to its matriculation examinations. Apart from the practical side supported by the British institutions (ibid) the University of Hong Kong also had the burden of solving the problem of universities in the East, which is summarised as follows:-

"Can Western Education divorced from all religious teaching supply a code of morality to take the place of the ancient indigenous codes of which a purely Secular Education tends to sap the inherited religious basis?" (The Times Education Supplement, 3.1.1911:49 in Lugard, 1912:128)

A discussion on establishing in London a School of Advanced Legal Studies was also a positive response to the role of

higher education in the British Empire. The idea of establishing a Law School in London came from the recognition of the University of London as an Imperial University and the recognition that, "the teaching of law in London has not reached out to embrace all the borders of the British Commonwealth of Nations (Pember, 1926:46). What was expected of the School of Advanced Legal Studies was according to R.W. Lee, the then professor of Roman-Dutch Law, Oxford:-

"A larger view would be imposed on us by the position of London as the centre of an Empire in which several different systems of law are in force, and also by the geographical situation of London on the edge of the legal systems of Continental Europe." (Lee, 1926:54)

In addition to the geographical position of London, the notion of a School of Advanced Legal Studies as a centre of legal study and a bureau of legal information was also practical as Professor Lee explained:-

"When a Royal Commission of Enquiry is set up anywhere in the Empire - India, England, Canada, Australia - as we know from what we have seen of Royal Commission (I am thinking of the last great one on the Divorce Laws), they include a great body of investigation into the laws of foreign countries. At present such enquiries have to be organised ad hoc." (ibid, 1926:52)

Professor Lee, therefore, proposed a Law School not of teaching, but for a place of learning, which would contain the following information:-

"(a) The common law, (b) Other systems which exist within the limits of the British Empire, (c) The laws of the other countries of Europe and of the Colonies, whether dissociated now from the mother country, like the State of South America, or still attached to her, (d) The native laws and customs of the East and of Africa." (Ibid)

The following people would be admitted: (1) Students from any part of the British Empire, (2) Foreigners, (3) British

subjects, (4) All persons who are interested in problems of Colonial law and its administration, (5) Men of affairs and of business, (6) Government departments - civil servants, - Members of Parliament, (7) All persons called upon to represent the interests of this country in any conferences of an international nature. (ibid:55).

Thus a proposed School of Advanced Legal Studies was expected to play an important role in the Empire in policy making.

Although the University of London took the initiative for the First Congress of the University of the Empire in 1912, people from the Royal Family, British universities, government, church, participated in the congress.¹³ The variety of people who were involved with the congress also indicates that cooperation of universities could not be separated from Imperial policy. The development of universities was a matter of Imperial Policy after 1900. This was one of the reasons why the University of London changed its policy from discontinuation to positive participation in the colonial examinations.

However it is also clear that higher education in the colonies where there were no universities was not a topic at the congress. In the following section, the development of the University of London Colonial Examinations will be briefly described, which will explain how the University of London participated in the development of the education system in the British colonies.

4. Brief History of the University of London

In this section, the establishment and subsequent development of the University of London until 1939 is briefly described and we shall focus on the relation between the University of London and the British colonies. This is not a detailed history of the University of London but is an attempt to explain why the University of London was involved with educational development in the British colonies.

2 As was mentioned in the previous chapters, the University of London had the power to confer ~~of~~ degrees in various subjects upon colonial candidates.¹⁴ This power is related to the establishment and the subsequent development of the University of London.

The function of the University of London as a mother university for the colonies as well as for British universities before and after the World War II relates to the origin of the University of London. The following is a brief account of establishment and development of the University of London.

London University (the present University College) was founded in 1826 and offered the first lecture in 1828 as a self-claimed university. It took ten years from its foundation to gain a Royal Assent because of opposition from the existing institutions such as the University of Oxford and Cambridge, the Anglican church and from medical organisations such as ^{the} Royal College of Surgeons, a group of

physicians, surgeons and lecturers of the Hospitals and Medical schools of London. (Bellot, 1929:Chapter VII)¹⁵

However the newly set up University of London in 1836 was different from the university demanded by the founders of London University (University College). London University (University College) was reduced to a college of the University of London without power to grant degrees and the University of London was to be an examining body and was financed as a department of the State. The University of London comprised a Board to examine for and grant degrees to the students from the existing chartered colleges in the Metropolis such as University College and King's College, and from such other colleges as might be created by Royal Charter. Financial assistance from public money involved special connections with the Home Office and the Treasury as Bellot explains below:-

"As a government department it was provided with accomodation in Somerset House, the outgoings on which were carried on the annual vote of the Office of Works. It was controlled by the Home Office, and was required to render an account of its expenditure to the Treasury. Until the income from fees should be sufficient to meet the changes, the current costs were to be met of public money, and the University was provided annually on the Treasury vote. In 1837 it was given £1,000 to start with. Since the Treasury had to meet any deficit on current account, it supervised the University's expenditure in detail. The scale of fees and the rates of pay to examiners required Treasury sanction. The University could not so much as print the Senate minutes or increase the porter's wages by a shilling a week without Treasury approval. The Home Office exercised a similarly strict control within its own province. When the first vacancies in the Senate occurred, it filled them without reference to the University, although the Secretary of State later undertook not to do so without consultation. All bylaws and regulations had to be submitted to him. The Home Office, as well as the Treasury, kept an eye upon the number of examiners and scheme of payments to them. The officers employed by the University were civil servants and ranked for civil service pensions". (Bellot, 1969:4-5)

This close connection between an educational institution and the state confirmed a feature of modern educational systems, which led to the separation of church and education.

The subsequent relaxation of the qualifications for the degree candidates prepared the University of London as the mother university for both British and colonial universities as described below.

The candidates for degree examinations were originally expected to follow a course of instruction at University College, King's College or at any institution in the United Kingdom approved for this purpose by the Privy Council, or at approved foreign institutions for medical degrees. The supplemental Charter of 1850 admitted candidates of the institutions in any of British Colonies or Possessions abroad, or in British Territories under the Government of the East India Company. By 1858, "seventy-three institutions had been approved for medical degrees and forty-nine for degrees in the Faculties of Arts and Laws." (The University of London, 1971:11) The University of McGill College at Montreal was one of the seventy-three institutions and the Universities of Sydney and Toronto were among the forty-nine institutions. (SMM 28, 36, 1845-46) However, the Charter of 1858 made it possible for all comers to take the degree examinations under the condition that the candidates had passed the Matriculation Examinations.

During the second half of the 19th century, dissatisfaction

over the examination system of the University of London grew. The dissatisfaction arose out of the severity and quality of the examinations. Although teaching institutions could send their representatives to the Senate as members of the Senate of the University of London, teachers had no control over the syllabuses or the content of examinations.¹⁶ As a result, the students of the originally affiliated colleges such as University College or King's College showed little interest in the University of London examinations as the following table shows.

Table 3.3: Return of Examinations for Bachelor's degrees in the University of London, 1889-91

	Arts		Laws		Music	Science		Medic.		Surgery		Total		Total
	P	H	P	H		P	H	P	H	P	H	P	H	
University College London	31	12	-	-	-	32	22	41	23	12	2	116	59	175
King's College London	6	3	1	1	-	8	5	10	1	-	-	25	10	35
Total London Institutions												469	209	678
Total Country Institutions												385	132	517
Private study & Tuition	465	57	49	11	2	93	36					609	104	713
Total entries												1463	445	1908

Source: Gresham University Commission, 1893-1894, Appendix No.8.

Note: 1. The number of University College, London and King's College, London is included in the total numbers below.

2. P: Pass, H: Honours

According to Bellot, the establishment of the northern Universities such as Victoria University in 1880, Liverpool in 1884, and Leeds in 1887 was attributable to the movement

to reform the existing defects in the University of London examinations. (Bellot, 1969:12). The discontent also led the two Royal Commissions.

The Royal Commission of 1888 was appointed to inquire whether any, and what kind of new University or powers is or are required for the advancement of higher education in London. In the Commission three groups of demands were examined:

1. a joint petition of University College, King's College, London, which asked for a charter to set up a new teaching university in and for the London district, having power to grant degrees in the Faculties of Arts, Laws, Science, and Medicine, with power to add other Faculties.
2. medical organisations such as ^{the} Royal College of Physicians of London, and ^{the} Royal College of Surgeons of England, which demanded^a the power of conferring degrees in Medicine and Surgery, under the name and style of The Senate of Physicians and Surgeons. (University for London Commission, 1889:vii)

The first petition was opposed by the University of London, the second petition was opposed by the Society of Apothecaries and the Association of General Practitioners and many universities not only in England but also in Scotland and in Ireland. The arguments were almost the repetition of the ones in the 1830's.

The second Royal Commission, under the Chairman of Earl

Cowper and twelve commissioners, was formed in 1892, concerned with whether there should be two universities in London, or what kind of mode by which a teaching University in London can best be carried into effect.

The two Commissions drew the same conclusion on the main points as it was expressed in the Report of the Gresham University Commission in 1894 as follows:-

"There should be one University in London. The establishment of an efficient teaching University for London will be best effected by the reconstruction of the existing University to carry out thoroughly and efficiently the work which may be properly required of a teaching university for London, without interfering with the discharge as an examining body for students presenting themselves from all parts of the British Empire." (Gresham University Commission, 1893-94:par.7)

The Report of 1894, eventually led to the University of London Act of 1898, which formed the shape of the present London University,¹⁷ although the 1898 Act was said to be a compromise by Lord Haldane and Sidney Webb after the Rosebery Cabinet and Salisbury Cabinet failed to carry into effect of the Gresham Report.¹⁸ (The University of London, 1971:12).

Following the University of London Act of 1898, the University of London as a teaching University started in October 1900 by reorganising 6 schools and colleges for Non-Medical Studies, 10 undergraduates Medical and Dental Schools and 3 schools for Divinity as well as 11 institutions which had recognised teachers.¹⁹ In addition to these recognised schools and colleges, 3 Non-Medical Colleges, 2 Postgraduate Medical Schools, 1 Department for Divinity and 2 institutions having recognised teachers were admitted as schools and

colleges of the University of London by 1910.²⁰

Among the schools and colleges listed above, the incorporation of the University College in 1907 and the King's College in 1909 into the University of London was significant for teaching purposes.

The Academic Council and the Council for External Students were set up in order to deal with internal and external students respectively. The separate examinations for internal and external students, which had been created by 1898 Act, began in 1904 for the first time. However equating Internal and External degrees caused problems in interpretation of the 1894 Report and the 1898 University of London Act which are shown as below:-

"The final examination for degrees should require the same standard of knowledge for both classes of students, and should be identical so far as identity is not inconsistent with the educational interests of other class." (The Gresham University Commission, 1893-94:par.11)

"separate examinations shall be held for internal and external students respectively, but the degrees conferred shall represent, as far as possible, the same standard of knowledge and attainments." (University of London Act, 1898 Part 1, par.12)

The distinction between Internal and External students also raised the fundamental question of what is university education. For example, it must be answered whether the standard is assessed by only examination or whether training in a university under university teachers is necessary, or whether University work means up to the Bachelor stage or consists of advancing research and higher learning. (Final

Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London 1913:P.12-13 par.35-36). The definition of internal and external students was a continuing question since the beginning of the University of London in 1836 and at the same time it became a problem for the colonial examinations. For example, the value of teaching against conferring degrees on examinations was argued before the reconstituting of the University of London in 1900, as follows:-

"in a book you always have the results of thought and of study, but the processes of thought and of study cannot very well appear in a book." (University for London Commission, 1889 c.5709-1, Vol.XXXIX: p.52, par.534)

"in the matter of education, time, and training, and discipline, and thoroughness count for a great deal the mere answering of particular questions, and especially of particularly hard questions, is not the true business of any sort of education, particularly medical education." (ibid:p.74, par.780)

"The schedules of the scientific examinations in which I am interested have been revised, some of them once or twice in the course of the 10 years, but in other subjects they have not been revised since the foundation of the university. I think that the system has a tendency to prevent the development of the individual interest of the teacher, and to prevent him from conveying to his students his interest in his subject." (ibid:p.60, par.631)

When the organisational defects of the 1898 Act became clear, the third Royal Commission was set up in 1909 to examine the existing provision for university education in London in the light of what ought to exist, and to make practical recommendations towards the realisation of the ideal.

The final Report of the Royal Commission on University (the Halden Report) in 1913 stated that the University of London Colonial Examinations were detrimental to education in the

2 colonies because the ULCE would create frustration for those who were trying to set up a teaching university and would produce the people who were equipped with relatively unpractical knowledge which would not be useful for the local needs. For these reasons the Royal Commission recommended the University of London to cease the External Examinations in the colonies and confine the Matriculation to students who intended to come to England for their university course. It also made explicit that the part which the university could play was to assist the colonies in the conduct of their own examinations. (Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1913:p.186, par.407)²¹

for With respect to the recommendation by the Royal Commission, the [Right Reverend] the [Lord] Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand, who gained his Divinity degree at the examination in Melbourne in 1909, and the London University Theological Society of Australia sent letters to the Senate asking maintenance of External Examinations in Theology on the ground that a University degree in Theology open to all students was provided only by the University of London. (SMM 316-317, 1913-14) The Senate, after receiving a report by the Board of Studies in Theology, unanimously resolved to inform them that "the Senate think it desirable that the Colonial Examinations in Theology of the University should be maintained." (SM 743, 1913-14)

However World War I broke out and the Recommendation of the Royal Commission was not implemented and in fact the colonial

candidate numbers increased in the 1920's. In 1924 a Departmental Committee under Mr. Hilton Young was set up to review the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1909-1913. The Hilton Young Committee fundamentally approved the 1900 statutes rather than the Holden Report of 1913 and recommended the appointment of Statutory Commissioners to work out the details of the constitution in consultation with the University authorities which became the 1926 Act and lasted with slight amendments until the present time.

Although World War I affected university activities, the University of London recovered from the aftermath of the War and developed new courses such as PhD Degrees, some subjects in MA, LLM, MSc, BA Honours, BSc, and Diplomas were set up in 1920 and onwards.²² In 1920 and 1921, the PhD Degree candidates were 179, of which 58 were Overseas students.

The transfer of the London Day Training College from the London County Council to the University of London in 1932, which started as the Institute of Education, and the amalgamation of the Ross Institute with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 1933-34 were important with respect to colonial policies as both institutions were expected to serve colonial needs. For example, one of the policies of the Institute of Education was to train colonial office probationers for educational work in the colonies. The Institute of Education also had the task of creating "a strongly equipped centre for the discussion and investigation of educational problems" (SM 3216, 1933-34) in the

Commonwealth and of aiding "the professional studies and enquiries of the men and women who are to play parts of more than ordinary importance in the educational systems of the Commonwealth." (ibid) With respect to this purpose, the Carnegie Corporation offered a sum of 22,500 dollars annually for three years from 1934-35 in the development of its relation with students from the Dominions and Colonies. (SM 3216, 1933-34)

The advisory services for External students started for Home students in 1932 and for Overseas students in 1935, which made possible detailed figures on external students.

^{After} Since the University of London was reconstituted in 1900, the number of students increased every decade except in the 1930's (Appendix 4). (On admissions,) The University admitted students internally on the qualification issued by the colonial and foreign universities, or on ~~the~~ examination by Moderators. The number of students admitted by these means increased, ^{while} ~~on the other hand,~~ those who matriculated decreased. This also meant an increase in foreign students. For example, as the following Table 3.4 shows, for 1927-1928 the total number of overseas students was 2,281, which was 23.9% of the total number of internal students of 9,556. (SM 1927-28 : Appendix to May, 1928; SM 1927-28: Report of the Principal Officer on the Work of the University during the Year 1927-28) This consisted of nearly half of the total number of overseas students in Great Britain and Ireland. Among the Colleges of

Table 3.4: Foreign Students in the Universities of the United Kingdom 1927-1928

	UC	KC	IC	LSE	Other Gen.	All Medical School	Total of London	Oxford	Cambridge	Edinburgh	Glasgow	Other Univ.	Total Except London	All Univ.
Self-Governing	52	15	27	22	149	226	491	195	190	164	42	97		1,179
Other Empire	182	97	117	86	247	186	915	81	119	222	120	314		1,771
(Ceylon)	(22)	(18)	(6)	*	(17)	(17)	(80)	(6)	(17)	—	(8)	(7)	(38)	(118)
Foreign Countries	183	37	79	267	199	110	875	236	167	228	73	420		1,999
Total Overseas	417	149	223	375	595	522	2,281	512	476	614	235	831		4,949

Source: Minutes of the Senate, Appendix to May, 1928

* Number is not clear.

the University of London, University College, and the LSE had nearly one third of the total number of overseas students at the University of London. It is also notable that a large proportion of overseas students at the University of London studied Medicine. The total number of internal overseas students for the University of London, 2,281, is very high in comparison with the total candidate numbers for Colonial Examinations above Matriculation, 403, in 1927.

Between 1900 and 1940, various activities outside the University were performed. For example, London University undertook to establish School Examinations at Junior Standard Examinations, ordinary Matriculation Standard Examinations, and Higher Standard School Examinations with inspection of schools. The total number of schools, which was inspected or examined, increased from 12 in 1903-1904 to 72 in 1907-1908. (SM Supplement to May 1905-06, SM supplement to May 1908-09). The Holiday Course in English for Overseas Students which was held in July and August, were attended by more or less 300 students from around 30 countries every year between 1929-1938. Those students who attended the course came mainly from Europe and not from the colonies.

London University also played an important role in ^{World} War I, not only in actual military service but in science and research. (Report of the Vice-Chancellor on the Work of the University during the year. SMM 1914-15, 1915-16, 1916-17) The University of London also provided special lectures and courses of study for the people serving in France, and for those engaged in

munition centres in this country. The works were further extended to the War prisoners in Ruhleben, Germany where the civil prisoners took the External Examinations in 1917 and 1918.

Thus, the University of London expanded its activities internally and externally after 1900. The number of internal colonial students among overseas students also increased. At the same time the number of candidates for the colonial examinations also increased.

It seems that the University of London already by 1858 was preparing to act as an imperial university not only for British students but also for colonial students. Although the University of London Colonial Examinations played a minor part of the University's activities in terms of student numbers and contribution to British education in general, the influence of the University of London in the colonies was large.

5. Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations

In this section, the beginning and the development of the University of London Colonial Examinations will be described. This will give the general background for the analysis of the role of the University of London both with respect to the colonial education systems and the involvement of the colonial office.

As we will see later, the first Matriculation examination in the colonies was implemented in Mauritius in 1865. An application for a Provincial Examination Centre in Mauritius was made to the Senate of the University of London in June 1864 through the Secretary Cardwell of the Colonial Office with a letter from Sir H. Barkly, the Governor of Mauritius and an accompanying letter of a resolution of Committee. (C.O. 167 461, Despatch No.158, 1864). The procedures of conduct of colonial examinations was approved by the Senate of the University of London on July 13th, 1864. The principle of conduct of examinations in Mauritius, which was approved by the Senate was as follows:- (1) the examinations were to be conducted in every respect on the same footing of the examination carried in Britain, (2) the examinations were to be conducted like the Provincial Examinations, under the superintendence of a responsible Sub-Examiner, who would be nominated by the Governor of the colony, (3) the examination papers were to be sent out through the Colonial Office to the governor, (4) the examination papers were to be marked in a similar way as in Britain, but candidates in Mauritius were not to be admitted to competition for the Exhibitions and Prizes in Britain. (SM 157, 1864)²³

According to the instruction, Rev. A.D. Matthews [B.A.] and Chaplain to the Bishop of Mauritius, superintended as a Sub-Examiner. The fees were paid to the Colonial Treasury and the Crown Agent was instructed to pay an equivalent amount to the Registrar of the University of London. The result was approved by the Senate on November 22nd, 1865.

The Senate also resolved to open the Examination to candidates who were not students of the Royal College in Mauritius, and this policy of opening the Examinations to all candidates irrespective of schools where the candidate studied was confirmed when Dr. Scandella applied for a Local Examination to be limited to the students of St. Bernard College, Gibraltar. (SM 222, 1866)

In relation to ULCE, the Gilchrist Educational Trust communicated to the Senate in 1866 their intention of instituting two Scholarships tenable for three years, awarded annually by competitive examinations, such as the Matriculation Examination or the modified Matriculation, in order to enable Indian students to proceed in one of four Faculties of the University, viz, Arts, Science, Laws or Medicine. Further, the Gilchrist Educational Trust made a provision in April 1867 for the establishment of a Scholarship which was open to persons residing in the colonies of Australia and Canada, for the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, in order to enable the scholar to pursue his study either in Edinburgh or in London. (SM 94, 1867) With respect to the places where the scholar might study, the Colonial Office requested the removal of restrictions and opening of places according to the scholar's choice.

Following the Mauritian experience, the first colonial examination took place in the Dominion of Canada in the summer 1868.

For the first five years starting from 1865, the examinations were held only in Mauritius and in Canada. As Appendix 2 - Table 2.1 shows, 45 candidates took examinationn in both countries, 43 for June Matriculation Examinations and 2 for the first BA (later called intermediate Arts). 28 out of 45 candidates passed the examinations, that is to say, 26 for Matriculation and 2 for the Intermediate Arts.

For the next 10 years between 1870 and 1879, the number of colonies where the ULCE were held increased. The total candidate numbers increased from 45 to 272, and the successful candidate numbers also increased from 28 to 140. During the decade, 11 candidates took the Second BA, of which five passed. In 1881, the First BA and the Second BA were replaced with the Inter~~mediate~~ and the BA examination respectively. Between 1865 and 1899, the ULCE expanded remarkably in size and number of candidates as the table (Appendix 1) shows.

However, although the number of candidates increased about an average of 250 every 10 years, the substantial increase is seen mainly in the Matriculation examination. 89.2% of total candidate numbers between 1865 and 1899 entered for the Matriculation examination. Successful candidate rates for matriculation is 40.5%, which was only 12.6% lower than the pass rates of Matriculation for Home candidates.

The pass rates of the Intermediate Arts and BA examinations are 60.7% and 55.0% respectively, and those for Home students

are 50.4% and 55.0% respectively.²⁴ The figures show that the pass rate of colonial candidates for Intermediate and BA examinations is as high as the rate for Home candidates. Some colonial students gained higher marks in comparison with Home students. For example, between 1868 and 1889, 31 candidates obtained ~~the~~ marks which placed them within the top ten in original Honours List of Matriculations for Home candidates. Among 31, 3 candidates were placed above the first in the original Honours List and 1 candidate was equal to the first. From this result, the standard of colonial candidates between 1868 and 1889 seem to have been as high as the standard of Home candidates who passed in Honours Division for Matriculations. (SMM, 1868-1900) It seems that these students were highly selected.

As has been mentioned, 8 examinations were held in the colonies between 1865 and 1899, while 21 examinations were available for Home students. In 1888 when the Governor of Jamaica applied for Science and Medicine in addition to Arts and Laws, the Senate rejected the applications as the Regulations and general rules of the University of London could not allow more than the Matriculation examination and the Pass Examinations in Arts and Laws in Jamaica. (SMM 352, 418, 1888)

Direct communication between examination centres and the University of London, which was requested by the Governor of Bombay in 1891, was also rejected and the Senate confirmed the regulations, according to which applications for

examination centres in the colonies and in India were to be made through the Colonial and India Office. (SM 196, 1891)

Along with the change in the constitution recommended by the two Royal Commissions in 1889 and 1894, the Senate resolved in 1897 to discontinue the Colonial Examinations in those colonies which either possessed or were within easy reach of a University. The Senate gave the following reasons:

- i. the small number of candidates after the Matriculation was not consistent with the academic intention of the Matriculation Examination.
- ii. the educational value of the colonial examinations could not be considered great as two thirds of the candidates failed between 1886-1895.
- iii. the need was proportionately lessened since 1865 as universities had been established in all the more important colonies.

In reply to the Senate's desire, which was transmitted to the colonies by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain's letter in 1898, 11 colonies expressed their regret at the discontinuance of the colonial examinations and 17 colonies expressed approval of the Senate proposal or found the colonial examination unnecessary.²⁵

According to the replies from the colonies ~~Mr. Secretary Chamberlain of the Colonial Office~~ advised the Senate that no alteration should be made for Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies such as Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands,

Mauritius and Ceylon. (SM 193, 1900 Oct-Dec) However the Senate did not take any firm policy on the matter and the colonies which approved the Senate proposal also continued to take colonial examinations and in fact colonial examinations expanded after 1900 as Appendix 1 and 2 show.

Thus, not only did the colonial examinations continue and the candidate numbers increase but the University of London stepped forward to take a positive role in the British Empire as the Ceylon's case below shows. As has been previously explained, Ceylon developed its University College into a full status university through the University of London Colonial Examinations which became the antecedent of the Special Relation after World War II.

The Governor of Ceylon requested the Senate in 1904 to consider (i) the possibility of adding optional subjects to the Matriculation, (ii) utilising the Intermediate Examination in Arts and Science for the purposes of awarding the Ceylon University Scholarship on performance on Honours Papers and (iii) substituting some other subjects for the Modern Language section.

For the University, these requests implied considering a specific ruling only available to Ceylon, or considering the more general question of taking local needs seriously, such as providing the basis for the possible development of a school of the University of London in Ceylon. The Principal of the University of London recommended taking local needs

into account and so allowing alternatives for French or German. It is noteworthy that the Governor of Ceylon stressed the importance of English as the adopted language of all the educated classes in Ceylon. For this reason, the English language was made compulsory for the purposes of the University scholarship. This was against the original intention of the Board of Education in Ceylon which had proposed Logic or Political Economy as a substitute for the Modern Language. (SM 396, 1905-06)

The positive approval of the request by the Governor of Ceylon is also seen in the following words in the Principal's Report:

"The whole matter is a question of educational policy which should be distinguished from the educational detail as to what the alternative (if any is allowed) should be." (Ibid)

As we have already seen, the evolution of the Colonial Examinations in Ceylon also led to relaxation of the rigid regulations which the Senate had held firmly before 1900. For example, the Preliminary Scientific Examination Part I was held in 1906 for the first time in the colonies after the laboratories and equipment had been inspected and approved by Dr. Osborne, an ex-professor of the University of London on behalf of the University of London.

Trinidad and Mauritius followed Ceylon and applied for the holding of the Intermediate Science examinations. (SMM 2544, 2547, 1909-1910)

The Colonial Examinations expanded every year from 1900 and the Senate recognised the importance of the Colonial Examinations as the following statement shows:

"the Senate, by their policy of encouraging these activities, are rendering valuable service to isolated overseas students, whose numbers are comparable with those of a small university." (SM 3378, 1921-22)

The following figures show a steady increase in the number of candidates.²⁶

	1901	1914	1918	1920	1921
Matriculation	53	200	490	659	868
Higher	12	85	172	238	288
Total	65	285	662	897	1156

Source: SM 3378, 1921-22

By 1920's most of the requests for change in the Colonial Examinations were accepted by the Senate. For example, Oriental languages such as Sinhalese, Swahili, Yoruba, Zuru, and Tamil were accepted for Matriculation. Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese were also accepted for Intermediate and BA. Early Indian History was set up for Intermediate Arts. Further, the examinations requiring practical examinations or viva voce, which colonial students, except Ceylon, were not allowed to take, were granted in several places by setting an additional paper. For example, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Zoology for Science, French and English for MA were arranged to be held in South Africa, Jamaica, Sydney, and Canada.

However, the limit of the relaxation of the University of London was also shown when Mauritius applied for the

Intermediate and Final Examination in Agriculture in 1928. The Senate found little difficulty with respect to the Intermediate Examination as the relevant subjects such as Chemistry, Physics, Botany were practically identical with the corresponding subjects at the Intermediate Science Examination, and Agricultural Zoology did not need practical work. (SM 2940, 1927-28) The Senate, however, found the Final Examination entirely different, as the Senate explained below:

"The syllabus throughout is based on British practice, which is quite unsuited to the case of Agricultural students in tropical areas such as Ceylon or Mauritius. It would therefore be useless to offer the opportunity of taking these papers to any candidates in these Colonies; and if syllabuses suited to the case of those students were to be provided, it would practically amount to the institution of a new degree in Agriculture." (SM 2940, 1927-28)

The principal difficulties in setting up examinations in Agriculture were summarized as follows:

- "(i) the difficulty of finding in England Examiners with the necessary knowledge of the local conditions of Agriculture in tropical Colonies.
- (ii) The difficulty of finding in the Colonies in question suitable qualified Examiners (apart from the actual teachers) who could conduct the necessarily important viva voce examinations on the spot.
- (iii) The difficulty of co-ordination between the Examination at home and in the Colonies in the present case, in which the viva voce examinations on the spot possess more than the usual degree of importance.
- (iv) The heavy cost which would be entailed in the examination of what would under the most favourable conditions be an extremely small number of candidates." (ibid)

The explanations (i)-(iv) for not holding the Final Examination in Agriculture at overseas centres are in contrast to the setting of the BA Honours and MA Examinations

in Sinhalese in the late 1930's. Although there was a time gap between the two requests, Agriculture in the late 1920's and Sinhalese in the late 1930's it raises the question why certain subjects such as languages were accepted and other subjects such as Agriculture, Horticulture or Science were found to be difficult to include.

The following is a brief account of how a request from a colonial student for including an Oriental language in the Colonial Examinations was treated by the Senate.

The Senate took the request seriously and considered the possibility of instituting the BA Honours and MA examination in Sinhalese and Tamil. The Senate took a view that Oriental Languages including Sinhalese and Tamil needed to be strengthened. In order to do so, it was necessary to recruit qualified staff who were to take a part both in examining and teaching in these languages. The Senate invited qualifications from young scholars for two scholarships, which enabled the two selected candidates to spend two or three years in Southern India or Ceylon after preliminary preparation for this work at the School of Oriental Studies. These scholars would be appointed to posts at the School of Oriental Studies on the completion of their studies in India or Ceylon. On the recommendation by the Senate, the chairman of the Court arranged meetings with the Ministers of the Government about the grant for the School of Oriental Studies. In 1938 a meeting was held with Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Ormsby Gore, and Sir Victor

Warrender on behalf of the War Office. It was decided that the matter [was to] be referred to the Treasury as well as to the Colonial Office, the War Office and the Foreign Office. (SM 2552, 1937-1938)

In order to develop Oriental Language studies, the Senate also recommended the abolishing of additional fees, which were required of students entering for examinations in all Oriental subjects. By doing so, the Senate hoped on the one hand to increase overseas students for both internal and external examinations, and on the other hand to encourage English students to be interested in languages and cultures of the Empire. (SMM 2560, 3068, 1936-37) The interest of London University in Oriental Languages was also communicated to the Ceylon Government. In 1938, the Ceylon State Council sanctioned the provision of £500 as a contribution to the School of Oriental Studies for the year 1938-1939 on the condition that the annual payment would depend on the annual Budget of the State Council and the establishment of the Ceylon University. As a consequence, the Senate abolished the special entry fees prescribed for Oriental Languages for candidates in Ceylon.

The two examples described above illustrate that instituting a new subject for the Colonial Examinations was not an isolated operation between the University of London and individual colonies, but was related to the policies of the British Government. It also illustrates that although the colonial students could express their needs, the decision was

made by the Senate of the University of London.

The Senate also maintained the principle that the ULCE had to preserve the fundamental conception of the degree as a degree of an English speaking University and the degrees conferred upon overseas candidates were substantially on the same basis as those awarded to English students. (SM 3654, 1922-23) This had been expressed in 1864 when an application from Mauritius was accepted. The following case shows an example of this.

The Authorities of Raffles College in Malaya ~~and~~, supported by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, requested that the University might prescribe a special syllabus in English at the B.A. General Examination for students in Malaya. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Board of Studies in English referred by the External Council of the University of London considered the case in the local environment but pointed out that "the authorities do not perhaps realize how serious it is in the eyes of the University to modify the syllabus of the Final Degree Examination in the interests of a particular section or group of candidates." (SM 1668, 1933-34) From this standpoint, the Sub-Committee recommended no modification of the present Degree course and continuance of the London Degree until such a time as the College became a University.

6. Colonial Office and the University of London

This relaxation of regulations is seen in the separation of the Colonial Office from the Self Governing Dominions. In

1907 and in 1909 the Senate resolved to arrange the examinations for BD, BA, and LLB in New Zealand and Victoria with the High Commissioner in London and with the Agent General for Victoria in London respectively, in order to avoid delay and inconvenience. (SMM 2561-63, 1908-09; SMM 3455-56, 1908-09)

In 1913, the Senate resolved that arrangements in connection with the Matriculation, the Intermediate and Final Examinations in Canada, South Africa, New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia, were to be carried out through the High Commissioners of Canada and South Africa and the Agents General of New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia respectively rather than through the Colonial Office. This separation from the Colonial Office also applied to Ceylon and Jamaica in 1920. In those Colonies, the Director of Education in Ceylon, and the Jamaica Schools Commissioners were to arrange for the Colonial Examinations with the University of London directly. Even so, the Senate avoided direct communication with the examination centre.

The insistence on having a responsible body as an intermediary between examination centres and the University of London must have looked curious. The honourable L.G. Power, a member of the Canadian Senate, expressed his feeling in his letter when he asked for direct communication with the University of London over the Colonial Examinations as follows:

"... I find it hard to understand how so modern and almost radical an institution as the University should allow itself to be so dominated by red tape and sealing wax." (SM 3285, 1912-13)

Red tape and sealing wax could have been a symbol of the authorised university accepted by the British authority. The contradiction in the demand by the University of London expressed so well by Power, thus, can be explained by the role of the University as the imperial university rather than as a British university.

However, although the involvement of the Colonial Office as an intermediary was gradually reduced as has been described, the Colonial Office was involved with the University of London in a different way. For example, the Professorship of Protozoology for five years was founded at the instance of the Colonial Office. The study of Ethnology was brought before the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the University in the hope of obtaining some support from the Colonial and other Government officers. After the Colonial Office discontinued its assistance of the Chair in Protozoology after 1921, the University of London applied to the Colonial Office for further assistance in Linguistics for University College and the School of Oriental Studies as this subject was related to the colonies. (SMM 2650-52, 1929-30)²⁷ However, further action was not taken at this stage. The Colonial Office also looked to the Universities and Allied Institutions to assist in research work at postgraduate level by the training of students who might be recruited for colonial scientific Departments, by the building up of a

corps of advanced workers for emergencies and for the solving of more complex problems beyond local researchers, which only universities could tackle.

The number of examination places continued to increase after 1920.²⁸ At the same time, the remarkable increase in the number of Ceylon candidates was understood by the Senate as an example of a local university college which would develop into a full university similar to the relation between the University of London and British provincial universities. (SM 1758, 1929-30) The recognition of the role as the Mother University of the colonies was expressed on a request from the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies for the adaptation of the Matriculation Examination to meet the needs of West African students. The Senate approved the proposal outlined in Sir James Currie's letter. The most important change was that "candidates in West Africa should no longer be required to offer a second language." (SMM 1514-15, 1935-36) This proposal was a part of a desire for the adaptation of examining regulations to African needs in the development of selected institutions in British Tropical Africa up to University standard. The Senate took the view that the relaxation of regulations for Matriculation, which did not necessarily follow the relaxation of regulations for post Matriculation, would be more effective in the development of a new type of secondary school in West Africa if there were an assurance that the school courses would qualify students for entry to the University of London courses. Currie suggested that East

Africa, where higher education was still in its infancy, would follow the West African experience. (SM 1935-36: Appendix M 8 S.F.C.) Thus the adaptation of the Matriculation regulations for West Africa was related to the educational development in the secondary and higher education.

In the 1930's the Colonial Office sought the possibility of organising a common system of school examinations in the Dependencies, and called for a conference of the British universities which were involved with the overseas examinations, in order to avoid the unnecessary competition over examinations among British universities and at the same time advance secondary education in the Dependencies. Accordingly, the Senate resolved that the Overseas School Examinations were not held in the Colonies and Dependencies in the year 1936. (SMM 2889-91, 1934-35; SM 3522, 1935-36)

7. Performance of Candidates in the ULCE, 1900-1939

The performance of candidates in the Colonial Examinations between 1900-1939 will now be examined.

As the Tables (Appendix 1 and 2) show, the candidate numbers increased every decade.²⁹ Types of examinations and number of examination places also increased. ~~It is noteworthy that the~~ Colonial Examinations expanded during the two Wars while University activities as a whole were restricted in the 1910's and at the end of the 1930's.

Between 1900-1939, Matriculation candidates were 70.6% of all the candidates. This indicates that the Colonial Examinations were used as a secondary school certificate. Among degree courses, the BA was the most popular course and the BSc, second. Apart from Ceylon which contributed 70.8% of the total number of candidates of the ULCE between 1900 and 1929, the increase of candidates is seen in Lagos, Gold Coast, Kenya, Straits Settlements and in West Indies such as Jamaica, Barbados, British Guiana, Trinidad, Windward Island. After the 1920's, candidates in the Middle East such as Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine also increased. In contrast to the countries mentioned above, in Mauritius and the Self-Governing Dominions such as Australia, Canada, the candidate numbers decreased as the following Table 3.5 shows. The decrease in the candidate numbers in the Self-Dominions, must be related to the development of their own educational system. The decrease in Mauritius will be discussed in the following chapter on Mauritius. The drop in the number in India is attributable to the discontinuance of the Colonial Examinations in 1897. Table 3.6 shows the number of countries where each examination was held. Although the number of countries increased for each examination, the number of countries where the BSc was held was fairly limited. Second Medical Examination (Part 1) was taken only in Ceylon, while a limited number of candidates took the First Medical Examination in British Guiana, the Gold Coast and Palestine in the 1930's.

Table 3.5: Candidate numbers

	Decrease		
	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929
Australia	84	68	53
Canada	130	118	46
Mauritius	147	121	83

	Increase		
	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929
B. Guiana	18	54	85
Cape Colony	65	230	454
Ceylon	275	2,052	6,910
Jamaica	68	69	284
Nigeria	2	22	118
Straits Settlements	7	105	325
Windward Islands	9	23	77
Trinidad	5	4	22
Barbados	17	21	36
Gold Coast	1	4	50
Rhodesia	0	3	94
Kenya	0	1	54
Palestine			114
Shanghai			54
Egypt			19
Constantinople			47

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915-16, 1930-31.

Table 3.7 shows the candidate numbers according to region. Among the regions where the candidate numbers increased, the increase in candidate numbers in Africa may be explained as the consequence of the adaptation policy described previously. Although the educational development of the Self-Government Dominions has been previously mentioned, the fact that the Colonial Examinations continued in those

countries not only between 1900 and 1939 but even more recently is interesting.

Table 3.6 Countries and candidates by different examination

Examinations	number of the countries			Candidate numbers
	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1900-1929
Inter Arts B A	11 6	16 10	25 19	1992 415
Inter Laws LLB	6 5	8 3	12 8	143 49
Inter Divinity B D	8 4	11 13	11 8	97 66
Inter Science B Sc	2 1	2 2	6 4	844 209
Inter Economics B Sc Economics	1 0	3 1	12 5	67 12
Inter Engineering B Sc Engineering	0 0	0 1	5 2	14 3
Medicine: First	0	1	1	204
Second	0	1	1	100

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1930-1.
London University Gazette, 1915-16, 1930-1.

The proportion of Ceylon candidate numbers in the total candidate numbers increased from 30.6% in 1900-1909 to 75.5% in 1920-1929 as the Table 3.8 shows. In Ceylon as in other colonies, the Matriculation numbers were always higher than other examinations, but the percentage of the Matriculation

candidates to the total candidate numbers decreased from 70.7% in 1900-1909, 64.3% in 1910-1919, and 61.3% in 1920-1929. Contrary to the movement of Matriculation candidates, degree candidates increased by 1580%, from 1900-1909 to 1910-1919. The comparison between Arts candidates and Science candidates above Matriculation shows approximately a ratio of 4:1 in 1900-1909, and 7:5 in 1910 - 1919, which clearly shows the increase of science candidates during 1910-1919. The proportion of candidates in each examination from 1920 to 1929 implies that the number of candidates for Science and Medicine was relatively high as Table 3.9 indicates.

Table 3.7: Candidate numbers by region

Region	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929
Africa (South Africa)	222 (65)	407 (230)	924 (454)
Australia	108	107	67
Central America	138	189	532
Middle East	--	3	204
North America	130	118	46
South America	--	--	2
South East Asia (Ceylon)	290 (276)	2163 (2052)	7337 (6110)
Europe	11	8	38
?	--	--	5
Total	899	2995	9155

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1930-31.

Table 3.8: Proportion of Ceylon candidates of the ULCE total candidates

	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929	
	Candidate	Passed	Candidate	Passed	Candidate	Passed
Ceylon	275(30.6%)	116(27.5%)	2,052(68.5%)	698(64.0%)	6,910(75.5%)	2,202(71.0%)
Total	898	422	2,995	1,091	9,155	3,101

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1930-31.

Table 3.9: Proportion of Ceylon candidates for each examination, 1920-1929

	Candidate		Passed	
Matriculation	4,234	61.3%	1,052	47.7%
Arts	1,515	21.9%	550	25.0%
Laws	73	1.1%	35	1.6%
Divinity	3	0.1%	3	0.1%
Science	773	11.2%	387	17.6%
Economics	41	0.6%	14	0.6%
Commerce	15	0.2%	8	0.4%
Engineering	8	0.1%	2	0.1%
Medicine	232	3.3%	145	6.6%
Agriculture	16	0.2%	7	0.3%
Total	6,910	100%	2,203	100%

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1920-21 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1920-21 - 1930-31.

Mauritius contrasts with Ceylon. Although Mauritius is the country which initiated the Colonial Examinations, the total

candidate numbers decreased every decade and the available examinations were limited to Arts subjects only as the following table shows. This matter will be discussed in a later chapter.

Table 3.10: Candidate numbers in Mauritius

	Matriculation		Intermediate Arts		B	A
	Candidate	Passed	Candidate	Passed	Candidate	Passed
1900-1909	135	57	5	4	7	3
1910-1919	116	37	4	1	1	1
1920-1929	48	31	11	5	1	1

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1930-31.

As Mauritius and the Self-Governing Dominions' case show, the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations was different there than in other territories such as Ceylon and West Africa.

8. Conclusions

In the previous chapter, different views of the development of educational systems in the colonies have been presented. Our position is that external examinations were most influential upon the educational systems in the colonies in the first half of the 20th century and the University of London Colonial Examinations were the most important among various external examinations. In this chapter, the

following areas have been specially considered in order to understand the role of the ULCE between 1900 and 1939: the educational situation in the colonies around 1900, the role of universities of the Empire in the first half of the 20th century, and the development of the University of London from its establishment until 1939, with special reference to the University of London Colonial Examinations. These examinations were crucial to the development of the educational systems in the colonies. However the colonial examinations can be grasped only through the analysis of individual colonies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the importance of education as a means of increasing national power was being recognised among technically advanced countries through competition over world territory. For example, the statement by Michael Sadler, the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, expressed the situation clearly as follows:-

"the welfare of the nation and its commercial and individual prosperity depend to a considerable degree on national educational efficiency." (Sadler, 1903:45)

Gathering information and exchanging views on education was a necessary process for this purpose. The "Special Reports on Educational Subjects" (Board of Education, 1897-1909) were in this sense important as the first major work initiated by the government. In the Special Reports, we have seen that the private and voluntary character of education previously carried out by missionaries was gradually replaced by public funding. The change in educational responsibility from voluntary organisations to the state was implemented by the

introduction of Inspectors of Education Departments in the colonial administration. As we have seen previously Inspectors of Education were introduced in the second half of the 19th century in almost all the colonies. Although the introduction of the grant and inspection system does not mean that colonial education was automatically controlled, it is also true that local governments were able to standardize education following the British model.

In small colonies where there were only a few secondary or high schools, post-primary schools were often governed by the local government or church ministers with the government grant which consisted of almost all the school expenses. In those schools, the language used as a media was English, and school subjects were European oriented. The studies were linked with external examinations, mainly English Colonial Examinations. With the external qualifications, the students were prepared for better jobs. In the colonies where cash crops were main income resources, having a good command of the English language was essential to a position in the administration which was the largest employer outside of the plantations.

Thus there were two types of education in the colonies, one for the mass and the other for the new elite. The former was controlled by the inspection of schools and the latter was controlled by external examinations. In reality, most of the missionary schools changed their educational aims, which were originally related to conversion of the population to

Christianity. The change in aims was related to their financial problems and the educational demands by parents.

It was ironic that on the one hand, the missionaries who stressed indigenous languages and manual work gave up this original ideal to follow academic studies, and on the other hand, the government from an administrative viewpoint emphasised moral aspects of colonial education. For example, manual education was always emphasised in relation to the development of a new imposed morality in almost all the colonies. The following view of the Cape Colony government about the function of schooling appeared to be shared with other colonial government: i) humanising the aboriginal youth, ii) training them to habits of orderly obedience to the law of the country, iii) preparing them for a busy life. (Board of Education, 1900 Vol.5 87-88) The attitude expressed above shows a belief held by the British that European culture was superior and so the mind of the aborigines ignorant of Christianity was degraded. (Board of Education, 1905, Vol 13:297) However the British began to recognise that from an administrative viewpoint this notion of the aborigines led to unfavourable situations. It was urgent and necessary for the British to understand not only different cultures and languages but also legal systems and social customs in order to govern the colonies world-wide. The University of Hong Kong was established to cross the cultural barrier between the West and the East as well as to bring European advanced technology and scientific knowledge. The establishment of the School of Oriental and African

Studies, the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies and the Institute of Education was also related to the practical needs of maintaining the British Empire.

In the same way, colonial scholarship systems, through which a few able colonial students were sent to England to further their studies, were also one of the means to promote mutual understanding of future leaders. Those who came to England were expected not only to obtain a degree but also to make themselves acquainted with British culture. Awards for examination results were often given to encourage students to study certain subjects such as English.

If we turn to the relationship between colonial economy and education, there are cases where education was planned as a part of economic development. As a principle, the British government took a self-supporting policy to a colony. In small colonies with limited resources, the development of the economy was the primary concern. [For example,] Royal Commissions on the West Indies in the 1890's were examples of this. The suggestion for the establishment of an institution such as a Department of Economic Botany in the West Indies, at the expense of Imperial Exchequer, setting up agricultural schools attached to the botanic stations, and giving elementary training in agriculture as a part of the course of education in the schools, were a part of a long term policy of economy as well as of education. (Board of Education, 1900, Vol 4:801-802).

After 1900, British universities positively participated in the development of the Empire as the Congress of the Universities of the Empire shows. The first conference of this kind for the universities of the Empire, held at the Royal Society in 1903, suggests that the conference and regulations were for imperial purposes as well as for the universities' benefit. For example, the resolution aimed at facilitating relations between the principal teaching universities of the Empire and students from all parts of the King's Dominions to pursue postgraduate studies. (Cooke, 1903:69) We can see that by 1903 universities of the Empire were discussing methods of corporation and development of postgraduate studies, whereas the University of London had barely begun as a teaching university and this was also the case of Victoria, Wales and Birmingham. Major reasons for the creation of the stronger relation between the British principal universities and colonial students were economic and ideological. On the one hand, international competition created the need for specialized manpower, on the other hand there was a need to create a common consciousness in the colonies of their position as allied to the Empire. The fact that there was no immediate implementation of the resolution in 1903 and by 1912 there was only a resolution passed by the Senate of the University of London to hold an Imperial Universities Conference, leaves the impression that the resolution of 1903 came from outside universities. According to Eric Ashby, the strengthening of postgraduate work and the institution of a PhD degree were initially proposed by Balfour, the Foreign Secretary. (Ashby, 1963:20-22) His

intention was to divert the traffic of scholastic migration from Germany to Britain. Balfour consulted with Fisher, then, the President of the Board of Education, the Secretary for Scotland, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and two representatives from each of the eighteen universities of the United Kindom in 1918. (ibid) The agreement among them to institute a PhD was proposed at a Conference of British Universities in 1918. This process of instituting a PhD is significant for our understanding of the relationship between British universities and the state at that time. Although Balfour, in his letter to the universities on the alliance between universities, (ibid:20) insisted on the independence and complete freedom of the universities as a matter of the highest importance, he also expressed at the meeting of 9 May 1918 that:

"it was desirable that some machinery should be found through which the great body of university institutions could speak on occasion with a common voice." (ibid:21)

Thus the proposal for establishing the PhD degree came from the Foreign Office. The Congress of the Universities of the Empire held every six years after 1912 also shows that the Congress was not only for university people but also for senior people concerned with the Empire. The question of how to develop the universities of the Empire was a matter of the development of the Empire.

As a University of Britain and as the Central University of the Empire, the University of London played an important role. As we have seen in relation to the Colonial Examinations, the attitude of the University of London to the

colonies shifted before and after 1900. Several educational institutions in connection with the University of London were established for British people who intended to work in the colonies. Colonial students were accommodated in different Schools and Colleges of the University of London. For example, students from Self-Governing Dominions and other Empire numbered 1406 in 1927-28. This was 47.7% of all the students from Self-Governing Dominions and other Empire territories who were studying in all the universities in Britain and Ireland in the same year. (SM 1927-28:Appendix to May) As the figure shows the University of London accepted nearly half of the students from the Empire. In 1927, 966 candidates took the Colonial Examinations. Thus the number of internal students from the colonies was increasing. The increase in the number of internal students created another feature of the colonial situation. Previously, the colonial government could limit the number of students who received higher education abroad by setting the number of scholarships and by instructing the subjects to study. However the increase in the number of students meant that the colonial students had opportunities for selecting subjects which were not available in the colonies. The increase in the number of internal students also created conflicts over employment conditions since the students obtained equal qualifications to the British colonial administrators. The increase in the number of internal students might be the reason for the Colonial Office to have withdrawn from the task of intermediary between the University of London and the colonial candidates for the ULCE.

Thus, the educational system in the colonies was standardized and as a consequence students were able to obtain a British secondary school certificate. The majority of those who obtained a secondary school certificate seem to find employment, but some of them continued higher education either by coming to Britain or by taking the ULCE in their own countries.

With respect to the ULCE, the number of candidates, types of examinations, and number of colonies where the ULCE were implemented, increased every decade between 1900 and 1939. Although the proportion of the degree candidates compared with Matriculation Examination candidates was small, the candidate numbers above Matriculations also increased every decade. The University of London changed its policy over the Colonial Examinations after 1900. (After 1900,) local conditions were taken into consideration from the view point of educational policy on a long term basis and examination regulations were relaxed from time to time.

However, the University of London maintained two principles in the implementation of the Colonial Examinations: the University of London insisted on having an authority which acted as a mediator between the University and the colonial candidates, and the degrees to be those of an English speaking university whoever received them. For this reason, the University of London was reluctant to modify degree examinations even if modifications of Matriculations and Intermediates were relatively easy to implement. Yet, setting

up new subjects for the Examination was not only a matter of academic interest but was also influenced by changing world situations. Language was one of the subjects which the University of London seriously considered, and Agriculture was the subject which the University of London was reluctant to include in the examination.

After 1900, the number of candidates from the dominions decreased owing to the development of their own universities but candidate numbers in other colonies increased as we have seen. This implies that the maintained standards and content functioned to standardize the quality of higher education and secondary education throughout the Empire.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Clatworthy examined each issue, which is mentioned in Chapter II.
2. The "Special Report on Educational Subjects" issued by the Board of Education contains the educational systems of the following colonies and dependencies of the British Empire.
 - Vol.4: A. Dominion of Canada
1900 Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, North-West Territories, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island,
 - B. Newfoundland
 - C. West Indies
Jamaica, British Guiana
 - Vol.5: A. Africa
1900 Cape Colony, Natal
 - B. Commonwealth of Australia
New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia
 - C. New Zealand
 - D. Ceylon
 - E. Malta
 - Vol.12 A. West Indies and Central America
1905 Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Honduras, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent.
 - B. St. Helena
 - C. Europe
Cyprus, Gibraltar
 - Vol.13 A. West Africa
1905 The Gold Coast Colony, Lagos, Sierra Leone, Southern Nigeria.
 - B. South and Central Africa
Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, East Africa Protectorate, Uganda.
 - C. Mauritius
 - D. Seychelles
 - Vol.14 A. Asia
1905 The Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements
 - B. Fiji
 - C. Falkland Islands
3. "colleges" implies colleges which had power to confer degrees or which were affiliated to a university.
4. The University of Cape of Good Hope and the University of New Zealand were examining bodies like the University of London.

5. Although the Reports mentioned only 7 colonies where the University of London Colonial Examinations were implemented, our research shows that the ULCE were taken in 18 colonies before 1900.
6. The difference in religious faith of the minority was protected in Canada and Australia. The system of education in Newfoundland was denominational.
7. The following years indicate the year when universal education was adopted at primary schools.

Ontario - 1844, Quebec - ?, Nova Scotia - 1864,
 New Brunswick - 1871, Manitoba - 1871,
 The North-West Territories - ? British Columbia -
 1872, Prince Edward - 1852, Free education 1877
 Public Schools Act.
 Newfoundland - 1874 (Board of Education, 1900:
 Vol.4 5-573)

8. "A Department of Economic Botany was to be a special public department capable of dealing with all questions connected with economic plans suitable for growth in tropical countries under which should be placed the various botanic stations already in existence." (Board of Education, 1900, Vol.4:801)
9. The numbers indicate the school population enrolled at the State-aided schools.
10. Southern Rhodesia is a similar example. (Board of Education, 1905 Vol.13:163, 168).
11. In this Proclamation the Governor stated that he had authorised "competent and respectable instructors being employed at public expense at every principal place throughout the Colony, for the purpose of facilitating the acquirement of the English language by all classes of society." These teachers had been brought out from Scotland, and, just a week after the date of the Proclamation, they were appointed without reference to the Bible and School Commission, to the following places, Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Stellenbosch, George, Tulbagh, and Caledon. A year later, two more were appointed to established schools at Swellendam and the Paarl, and other villages where subsequently supplied as qualified teachers could be obtained. The salaries of these teachers were fixed at 80 libla a year, payable by the Colonial Treasury; and they were to give elementary instruction free to all, though allowed to charge small fees at their discretion for the higher classes. (Board of Education, 1900 Vol.5:15)
12. Manual and practical instruction implies "Hand and Eye training, Woodwork, Drawing, Elementary Science, Agriculture, Cookery, Laundry Work, Domestic Science, Needlework, Singing, Drill and Physical Exercise."

(Commissioners on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, p.34, 1898 c.8923 XLIV.1)

13. A resolution was made by the Senate of the University of London in November, 1909. The people who participated in the congress were as follows: His Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught, all the Chancellors and Lord Rectors of the Home Universities, the Delegacy of the Grilchrist Trust, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet whose departments were connected with Universities, the High Commissioners of Dominions, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Chairman of the London County Council, the delegates from the universities of the Empire, the Colonial Office and the India Office. (Hill, 1912:xxvii-xxviii)
14. As it has been mentioned previously, the University of Durham also conferred degrees to the students at certain colleges in the colonies such as the Codrington College in Barbados, the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone.
15. Cf. Brook, 1958:402.
16. The severity of London University examinations, specially in medicine were said to have caused the migration of London medical students into the Northern parts of England. For example, the standard of the matriculation for the medical students was such that "even a public school boy of high attainments could not pass such an examination in virtue only of the knowledge he has been acquiring for many years at school; and in the case of boys of average intelligence and education it involves an outrageously severe, and altogether unremunerative mental and physical strain." (quotation from a letter to the Chancellor of the University of London written by Dr. J.S. Bristowe in December 1879 in University for London Commission, 1889:p.152-153, par.1619) The preliminary scientific examination was very much of the same character. (ibid, p.153, par.1619) The two examinations, matriculation and preliminary scientific examination, which required wide and extensive knowledge, were essential in order to take degree examinations. The length of the year required for clinical work also prevented students from proceeding to degrees of Bachelor of medicine or Master of surgery in London. The opinions of teachers or examiners were not reflected in the examinations. Neither was the communication made with King's College, University College or other Metropolitan Medical Schools.

London University examinations were planned by the Senate, most of whom did not teach. For example, amongst six physicians represented at the Senate in

1888, there was only one acting teacher among them. This was a disadvantage to the development of higher knowledge especially in medicine and science. Furthermore, examiners were not able in any way to control the curriculum of the examinations. They were not consulted upon it either. (ibid:p.59 par.627)

17. A school of the University will be any Institution which complies with the necessary conditions, either as a whole or in certain departments, where University courses of instruction are to be pursued.

Students are two kinds, Internal and External. Internal students will pursue regular courses of study, of not less than three Academic years' duration in a School or Schools of the University. External Students will proceed to a degree by way of examination without attendance, and three academic years must elapse between their first examination by the University and their final examination for the first degree, except all candidates for degrees in Medicine who are required to go through regular courses in Medical Schools recognised by the University. (Gresham University Commission, 1893-94, par.20, par.43)

The final examination for degrees should require the same standard of knowledge for both classes of students, and should be identical so far as identity is not inconsistent with the educational interest of either class (ibid:par.11). However the final decision on the external and internal examination is left to the Senate. (ibid:par.12)

18. Bellot asserts that the legislation following the 1894 Gresham Report, for which R.B. Haldane and Sidney Webb had played an important part, was an attempt to organize the University as a part of the unification of all education in London under the London County Council, which was Webb's dream.

19. 6 Non-Medical Schools.
Bedford College, King's College, London School of Economics, Royal Holloway College, University College, Wye

10 Undergraduate Medical and Dental Schools
Charing Cross Hospital Medical School, Guy's HMS, London HMC, Middlesex HMS, Royal Free HMS, St. Bartholomew's HMC, St. George's HMS, St. Mary's HMS, St. Thomas' HMS, Westminster HMS.

3 Schools for Divinity
London College of Divinity, New College, Richmond College.

11 Institutions which had recognised teachers
Goldsmiths', Battersea, Chelsea, Jews' College,

Northampton, Northern, Royal Academy of Music, Royal College of Music, Trinity College of Music, West Hamstead, Woolwich.

20. 3 Non-Medical Colleges
Westfield College, Queen Mary College, Imperial College.

2 Medical Colleges
University College HMS, King's College HMS.

2 Postgraduate Medical Schools
London School of Tropical Medicine, Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine

1 Department for Divinity
King's College Theological Department

2 Institutions which had recognised teachers
Maria Grey, Sir John Cars.

21. "We think that this advice is sound, that in the interest of that Colony the ordinary examinations of the University of London should cease in Ceylon, and that a similar careful investigation of the educational conditions of the other colonies would probably lead to the same conclusion in their case. The statistics of the examinations higher than that for matriculation show that their abolition would not be a hardship to any large number of individuals. It is true that the London University examinations in Divinity, since their first establishment in 1903, have been in some demand on the Australian Continent, for none of the Australian universities at present offers a degree in that Faculty. The figures do not, however, show any great tendency to increase

We are very doubtful as to the wisdom of holding even the Matriculation examination beyond the confines of this kingdom, but if it is held it should be confined to students intending to come to England for their university course. We are convinced that none of the higher examinations should be held, though we think the University might be of valuable assistance to some of your Majesty's Crown Colonies in the conduct of their own examinations."

(Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1913:p.186, par.407)

22. New courses set up during 1920 and 1929 as follows:
PhD Degree in 1920, MA in Geography, in Sociology, in Slavonic Studies and in Architecture for Internal Students, and in Geography for External students were instituted. LLM in 1922-23, MSc in the Principles, History and Methods of Science for Internal and External students was also instituted in 1924-25. BA Honours in Anthropology for Internal students in 1922-

23, and BSc in Pharmacy in 1923-24 were instituted. Apart from the degrees, Academic Diplomas in Psychology (1922-23), Archaeology (1926-27), Public Administration (1926-27), Bacteriology (1927-28), Biology (1927-28), Public health (1929-30), Clinical Pathology (1929-30), Comparative Philology (1929-30) were instituted. The University Extension Diplomas in Dramatic Arts in 1922-23, and Diplomas in Nursing (1926-27) and in Theology for External and Internal students (1923-24) were also instituted.

23. Extracts of the procedure of conduct of colonial examinations in Mauritius approved by the Senate of the University of London on July 13th 1864.
- (i) the Examinations shall be conducted in every respect on the footing of the Examinations carried on this country,
 - (ii) the Examinations be conducted, like the Provincial Examinations, under the superintendence of a responsible Sub-Examiner, who shall be nominated by the Governor of the colony,
 - (iii) the Examination-Papers be sent out through the Colonial Office to be addressed to the Governor, who shall be requested to deliver them unopened to the Sub-Examiner,
 - (iv) the Examination shall be held as soon as convenient after the arrival of the Mail, and the Answers of the candidates be sent back by the Sub-Examiner to the Governor of the Colony, to the Registrar of the University through the Colonial Office,
 - (v) the Registrar shall distribute the Answers to the Examiners, who shall make a Supplemental Report thereon, classing the Candidates according to the Regulations in a List by themselves, but indicating, as nearly as may be the situations which those who may be entitled to places in the colonial Honours Division would have held in the Home Honours Division, if they had been examined in this country.
 - (vi) Candidates examined in Mauritius be not admitted to competition for the Exhibitions and Prizes offered to Candidates examined in this country, the Examiners shall include in their Report any recommendations for Rewards if required by the Colonial Authorities.
 - (vii) the Registrar be directed to prepare suitable forms of instruction for Sub-Examiners (SM 157, 1864).

24. The number of candidates and passed candidates, and pass rates for home students are as follows.

Matriculation		Intermediate Arts		B.A.	
1838-1899		1859-1899		1839-1899	
No. of Cand.	No. Pass	No. of Cand.	No. Pass	No. of Cand.	No. Pass
72,812	38,647 53.1%	15,269	7,701 50.4%	10,756	5,914 55.0%

Source: A table: Number of Candidates for the several Pass Examinations in each year since the Foundation of the University attached to the SM 1899-1900.

25. 11 colonies which expressed their regret at discontinuance of the colonial examinations were as follows:-

Newfoundland, Tasmania, Jamaica, Barbados, Leeward Islands, Grenada, Bermuda, Mauritius, Ceylon, Sierra Leone and Lagos.

17 colonies which approved the Senate decision were as follows:

Cape of Good Hope, Natal, New South Wales, Victoria, Trinidad, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, British Honduras, British Guiana, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, Fiji, Gold Coast, Gambia.

26. The figures (SM 3378, 1921-22) are different from our figures.
27. On the matter of requiring Grants in aid of teaching of Phonetics and Oriental Languages for University College and School of Oriental Studies in 1929-1930, the Court recommended to the Senate that the application should be made not as isolated cases, but as part of the general question of making application to the India Office and to the Colonial Office for financial assistance towards the work of the University. (SM 413, 1930-31) However the Collegiate Council objected to the Court proposal as considerable danger because "the number of Overseas, particularly coloured students have now reached the maximum" in the University. The Collegiate Council were of opinion that "colleges should not be asked either to increase the number or even to guarantee that the present number should be maintained and any large measure of financial support might well be accompanied by requests for special consideration in this respect and schools must retain complete freedom in regard to the admission of students." (SM3358, 1930-31)

According to the request by the Collegiate Council, the Senate resolved to hold the original resolution that a grant to a particular Department and Research at the University College and School of Oriental Studies was to be requested to the India Office and the Colonial Office. This action, however, was not taken.

28. In 1920, examinations were held in Jerusalem and Shanghai for the first time; in Tientsin in 1922, in Baghdad and Constantinople in 1923, in Alexandra in 1928. The examinations were reopened in India for military personnel only.
29. As has been mentioned previously, actual candidate numbers must have been lower than the figures in the table since the unsuccessful candidates seem to have taken the examination several times. The numbers include candidates who took a part of the Examinations.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY - MAURITIUS

1. Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Mauritius between 1900 and 1939 in relation to the development of the Mauritian educational system, especially with respect to scholarship systems and the Royal College, Mauritius. We will also examine how the qualifications obtained through the ULCE were used for employment, especially in the government service.

Formerly under French rule, Mauritius became a British colony in 1810. The French had begun to organize an administration and educational institutions following the French system, on the basis of a plantation economy which had been owned by the Franco-Mauritians. Changes in educational policies throughout the 19th century show struggles between the British administrators who tried to Anglicize the educational institutions and the Franco-Mauritians who tried to maintain their privilege in education. The University of London Colonial Examinations were introduced in this process. Anglicization was brought about in three stages: (1) adoption of English as an official language, (2) opening the doors of the Royal College to all able children, (3) setting up scholarships for selected students.

If we consider the adoption of English as an official language, steps were taken to secure the adoption of English

as the official language of employment in the 1830's. In 1839, the Colonial Office decided to fill the vacancies amongst unofficial councillors with candidates having a good command of English. (Ramdoyal, 1971:199). In the 1840's, all the new appointments were made eligible only to persons with a competent knowledge of the English language. In 1847, the French language was replaced by the English language in the Supreme Court. Along with these policies on employment and the making of English the official language, the Education Committee also suggested in its Annual Report in 1843 (ibid:200) that the English language should be the general medium of communication throughout the colony. Later, a code of Regulations in 1882 for the grant-in-aid "imposed an examination programme that was exclusively English, and required for a certificate of proficiency in the knowledge of English and another language." (Augustin, 1987:199) The following code of 1885 required future teachers to be certified. The candidates for the teacher's certificate had to pass in two languages, one of which had to be English. (ibid:201-203).

The Royal College, which had been established on the French model and had been kept exclusively for the Franco-Mauritians, opened its doors to coloured children in 1829.¹ This was the first step in the Anglicization of the Royal College. In 1839, an English rector was appointed for the first time. After that, struggles between successive rectors and parents over curricula, religious matters and admission of the coloured children continued. The University of London

Colonial Examinations were introduced under these circumstances in 1865.

Scholarships were set up in order to encourage students to proceed from the primary stage to university education. After 1813 the most able students at the Royal College were to be sent to England for further studies. The scholarships were effective in bringing back into the Royal College the French students who had withdrawn from the Royal College and had studied at the private schools to avoid co-education with the coloured students. Thus, in Mauritius, at a relatively early time education from primary to University was available with public funds provided that the students were competent in English, even if only for a selected few.

The features pointed out above show the general pattern of colonial education. That is to say, the educational system in Mauritius was organised by the setting up a government school for higher education as a centre of the education in a colony where future leaders were to be educated in an English mode and certificated by English examination bodies.

As we shall see later, Mauritius was the first colony which applied for the external examinations to the University of London in 1864 and the examination took place for the first time in British colonies in 1865. In 1873, three Mauritian students passed the BA. However, although the number of candidates for the ULCE increased towards the end of the 19th century, the candidate numbers decreased after 1900 until

1930's when the candidate numbers increased again. On the whole the candidate numbers were small. In Mauritius unlike Ceylon, which will be examined in the following chapter, the part played by the University of London Colonial Examinations was small.

In Mauritius, as in other colonies, the economy depended solely on one cash crop plantation. Employment opportunities for the educated were limited to the civil service or major professions such as medicine or law. As there were no medical or law schools in Mauritius during the period concerned, those who were qualified in Medicine or Law had studied abroad. Those who obtained degrees through the ULCE, on the whole, entered the educational field.

The chapter will be organised in the following way. Firstly, we will review the literature in order to grasp problems relevant to our theme. Here four major works will be discussed. Secondly, we will provide a general background to Mauritius consisting of a general history and the development of the educational system. Thirdly, we will describe the development of the ULCE and the consequences will be examined. The section will consist of a general account of the development of the ULCE between 1865 and 1939, and the relation between the qualifications obtained through the ULCE and government service. Finally, we will discuss the role of the ULCE in relation to the issues raised in the review of the literature.

2. Review of the Literature

In comparison with other colonies such as Ceylon, there are few theses and articles written on the education of Mauritius. Here four major works will be briefly mentioned in relation to our theme.

Augustin focused on the development of primary education in the 19th century in his recently completed Ph.D. thesis, The Provision of Elementary Education under the Plural and the Subsequent Dual System in Nineteenth Century Mauritius (1987). With respect to higher education, Wise described the historical development of the Royal College in detail until the 1920's in Education in Mauritius. With Special Reference to the Royal College (1931). An overall view on Mauritian education system from the French settlement to 1971 was given by Ramdoyal in his M.Phil. thesis, A Critical Study of the Development of Education in Mauritius in 1971 and in a book The Development of Education in Mauritius published in 1977. Juggernaut discussed education and development in post-independent Mauritius in historical context in his Ph.D. thesis, Education and National Development in Post-Independent Mauritius in an International Perspective 1968-1982 (1987).

Augustin (1987) examines the introduction and development of elementary education in the 19th century Mauritius. He asserts that the elementary education Bill in 1857, which introduced grant-in-aid system, brought progress in elementary education in the second half of the 19th century

in terms of the number of schools, the number of inhabitants per school, the ratios of school children on roll to the total child population, and the percentage of educational expenditure in the Gross National Revenue.

Wise in 1931 gives a detailed account of the history and position of the Royal College in relation to other educational institutions from French rule to 1929. There are problems, however, with some of the tables. For example, the tables on the number of passed candidates for the University of London Colonial Examinations and the University of Cambridge Local Examinations are different from ours, but we cannot solve the difference as the sources are not stated. (Wise, 1931:161-162). Wise asserts that the Royal College as a Government Institution of a British Colony, has always served a semi-political purpose as the top educational institution as its characteristics show: (1) English was better taught at the Royal College than at any other institution in the colony, (2) Royal College pupils acquired a British outlook, (3) Royal College teaching was the most up to date in English, and was more open to progress in ideas than other secondary schools, (4) the Royal College was the only institution capable of providing a "sixth form education", (5) the Royal College offered a moral training. (ibid:296-297). Privilege also derived from the above characteristics. For example, the Royal College was the principal source of recruitment for clerical posts in the civil service. Royal College students were also preferred to other candidates for posts in British banks and commercial

houses. (ibid:302). The Assistant Masters of the Royal College were almost all recruited from former members of the English Scholarship Class.

Ramdoyal takes the view that historical and economic forces conditioned educational thought and practice. (Ramdoyal, 1971:319). In his view, the administration of Mauritian education was a failure. The failure was attributable to the fact that "there was no central authority strong enough to compose clearly defined policies and exact standards of conformity." (ibid:224) The failure was also attributable to the introduction of ~~the~~ contemporary British educational practice without sufficient regard to socio-political differences. (ibid:149) The failure indicated that

"the Franco-Mauritian community would have succeeded in slowing the growth of education in the island by drastically limiting the educational pretensions of the other racial groups in a bid to retain a monopoly of political and economic power." (ibid:321)

Juggernaut (1987) sees the development of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius in the national-international context which are historically and structurally determined. Juggernaut argues that

"there is a close link between the educational culture, in its commodified form, and the rise of the power elite which would, eventually adopt a 'clientele' role in post-independent Mauritius." (Juggernaut 1987:vi)

That is to say, as a result of the dialectic between the national and the international complex infrastructural patterns, forms of dependency were established and these led to the emergence of a national bourgeoisie, export-import mercantile elites, whose strength, interests and very

existence were/are derived from their function in the world market, who became the clientele classes. According to Juggernaut the needs of this national bourgeoisie led to the establishment and development of a particular form of education characterised by its exclusiveness (social distinction) and which was instrumental in the creation and maintenance of a power elite (social reproduction). (ibid:44) Historically Mauritius was dominated by imperial powers of Britain and France since the 18th century. The educational system has been the site of conflicts between different social groups, dominated by the French national bourgeoisie. The major task of the British administration was to break the economic, political and symbolic power of the French dominant plantation class. (ibid:305) Eventually the British colonial administration succeeded in separating economic power from symbolic power. (ibid:306) Thus the development of educational institutions and practices under British imperialism reflected the needs of industrial capital of the British dominant class in the British metropolis (ibid:42) and the educational system has transmitted the dominant class culture of the British metropolis - an educational culture which gives access to various kinds of employment in the civil service, which bestows prestige and status on its possessor and which is the main channel of social mobility. (ibid:vi)

According to Juggernaut, in this connection, the Royal College and external examinations are important. The former became the only channels for social mobility in Mauritius and

also provided access to administrative positions in the civil service. (ibid:306) The Cambridge and London Board of Examinations were important as they determined the content of education in Mauritius through which an elitist education is transmitted legitimized by these two Universities which serve the economic and cultural needs of the dominant class in the British metropolis. (ibid:298)

In these works, education is grasped as a place of struggle between the Franco-Mauritian and the British administration. Although there is agreement on the importance of the Royal College which has served ~~as~~ a semi-political purpose for the British administration as Wise asserts, the view on the general function of education differs between Ramdoyal and Juggernaut. For Ramdoyal, the British administration failed to develop the educational system which would produce counter power to break a monopoly of political and economic power of Franco-Mauritian. Juggernaut places the clientele class as a class which "cuts across both the class and caste lines" and "would eventually permeate the 'state' itself as the power elite controlling the apparatus of the state, relying on material and ideological support from abroad - chiefly Great Britain - to justify its social positions through the accumulation of 'useful knowledge'. (Juggernaut, 1987:vi)

In Juggernaut's argument, the educational system responded to the needs of the clientele class and became the main channel of social mobility which relay the culture of the British dominant class. According to Juggernaut, the clientele classes used the educational system to maintain

their position by the acquisition of British culture. However, this does not explain why the Franco-Mauritians maintained French culture rather than British culture. In this connection, it is important to examine higher education, especially the connection between the Royal College, the ULCE and employment.

In the following section, the general background and development of the educational system will be briefly sketched in order to understand the role of and development of the ULCE in Mauritius.

3. General Background

3-i Political and Economic Context

Mauritius had been an uninhabited island until the Dutch attempted to colonise it with a small number of slaves in the 17th century. After the failure of colonization by the Dutch East India Company in 1710, the French settled on the island from the early 18th century. When the British officially took over the island from France in 1810, Mauritius had developed into a society dominated by the French colonists who owned sugar plantations dependent on slave labour. In the early 19th century there existed only a few schools which reflected the pre-revolutionary French culture.

The basic economic features of the social structure of Mauritius have not changed to this day since the first French settlement. As Benedicts states, the economy of the island

has been based on sugar plantation.

"Ninety per cent of the arable land is planted in sugar cane, 99 per cent of the island's exports are sugar and its by-products; 70 per cent of its labour force is engaged in the production of sugar." (Benedict, 1958:315)

The demography of Mauritius has also been effected by the sugar plantations. The largest population group in Mauritius has been the Indians who were originally brought by the British to the island as indentured labour for the plantations throughout the 19th century and remained on the island after the termination of their contract. The second largest population group was the Creoles, of African or mixed African and European descent. Other groups were a small number of Chinese and Europeans or people of European descent.

The distinction by race is roughly identified with particular occupations; in a simplified classification,

"the English with the top positions in government; the French with the ownership and management of the sugar estates; the top stratum of Creoles with white-collar jobs in Government, commerce and on estates, the middle stratum with artisans' jobs on and off estates, and the lowest stratum with fishing; the Chinese with general retail trade; the Gujerati Indians (mostly Muslims) with the importation of grain and cloth; and the vast body of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, with labour on sugar estates and small holdings of sugar and tobacco." (Benedict, 1958:316)

English has been the official language which was made compulsory in the law courts as from 15 July 1847 (Augustin, 1987:155), but Creole has always been the lingua franca.

The proportion of different races is reflected in the religious distribution in the island. The following is the number of population and percentages according to religion.

Denominations	1901 Population	1901 Percentages
Roman Catholics	113,224	30.51
Church of England	3,321	0.90
Other Christians	3,490	0.94
Hindus	206,242	55.59
Mohammedans	41,208	11.11
Buddhists	3,274	0.88
Others	264	0.07
Total	371,023	100.00

Source: Census of Mauritius and its Dependencies, taken on the 1st April 1901.

The French and the Creoles² formed the Roman Catholics, the English belonged to the Church of England and other Christian Churches, the Indians were Hindus or Mohammedans and the Chinese Buddhists.

These features of Mauritius are reflected in the education policy in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. That is to say, secondary education was for the colonists and primary education was for the labourers. This bipartite system lasted until the 1870's when "a narrow bridge was built between them when a limited number of scholarships and exhibitions were awarded to government school pupils who aspired to become elementary school teachers." (Augustin,

1987:78) In the following section, the history of education at primary and secondary level will be briefly sketched, which will give a background for the introduction of the University of London Colonial Examinations.

3-ii Primary Education

Under French rule there was no public system of education. Schooling was from time to time promoted by individuals but achieved little permanence.

Provision of primary education under British rule was conceived as a part of the Christian mission in Mauritius. In the first half of the 19th century, the London Missionary Society, the Mico Charity, the Society for the Propagation of Gospels and Catholic missions opened schools. The missionary schools, except Catholic, had financial problems partly due to discontinuation of funding from Britain and were taken over by the local government in the 1840's. In 1845, the number of pupils at government schools increased to 1,335 from 665 in 1844, while the number of pupils at denominational schools decreased to 880 in 1845 from 1,526 in 1844. (Augustin, 1987:352) Education was also conceived as a means of stabilising the social order. The education of emancipated children from slavery and later of the children of indentured labourers became a priority.

The first government school was opened in 1823 and was called 'the Government Free School' and later 'Male Juvenile School'. The name indicates the nature of the school. In

1829 the government also opened a school for coloured girls, which was called the 'Western Suburb Female Juvenile School.' In this way, although the educational policy was not planned in an organized way, the number of schools and pupils under government management gradually increased in the first half of the 19th century. In 1856, the number of government schools was 18 and 1807 pupils were enrolled. (Augustin, 1987:163)

In addition to denominational and government schools which aimed at giving religious and moral instruction to the poorer classes, there were private schools in Port Louis generally run by Catholic teachers. These schools were fee-paying institutions, which consequently gathered the children of well-off families. The number of private schools in 1854 was 16 and the pupil numbers were 1006. (Augustin, 1987:352) This shows that the private schools were as popular as the government and denominational schools.

An important step was taken in 1856 when an Ordinance for Promoting the Elementary Education amongst the poorer classes became law. This was to introduce the grant-in-aid system. This Ordinance was introduced to solve problems: (1) conflict between different religious sects over schools, (2) geographical disparity in availability of schools between Port Louis and other rural areas where the rate of increase in the number of children was acute, (3) shortage of money to support more schools by allocating less money to more schools. Under this ordinance, schools were

grouped under three headings: government schools, grant-in-aid schools and private schools.

Through the second half of the 19th century and the 20th century, regulations to qualify for grant were gradually consolidated. In the process, the adoption of the English language as a medium of instruction and as a part of the curriculum in 1882 and 1890, payment by result in 1896, certification of teachers and abolition of fees in the early 1890's, were introduced. Consequently the number of schools under grant-in-aid together with the government schools was gradually increased from 7 in 1857 to 98 in 1900. In the same period, the number of government schools increased from 20 in 1857 to 76 in 1900. In all, 19,481 pupils were enrolled in both government and grant-in-aid schools. This was about 22.7% of the total school age population.³

In the first half of the 20th century, there was no major change in elementary education. The government and grant-in-aid schools were placed under the administration of the Schools Department in 1919 while the Royal College was under the control of the Royal College Department. In 1941, the number of government primary schools and grant-in-aid schools was 125 and 40,000 pupils were enrolled in these schools, which was about 40.7% of the total school age population.⁴

3-iii Secondary and Higher Education

Under French rule, apart from Naval Schools through which more than 800 successful students passed between 1776 and

1810, (Augustin, 1987:42) secondary schools were opened from the 1770's. Lay colleges were also opened after the French Revolution. Among them, only the "Ecole Centrale" at Port Louis, which was renamed as the Lycee des Isles de France et de la Reunion in 1803, survived to the time of the British reign.

Under British administration, the Lycee was reorganised as the Colonial College called "The Royal College" in 1813, which was to

"provide for the youth of the Colony a superior course of classical and general education; to prepare them for matriculation and degrees in the Universities of the mother-country; and also to provide instruction for students in special subjects." (Bruce, 1870:41)

At the same time the English Scholarships were offered under which "the two most distinguished scholars should be sent annually to England at the expense of Government, to finish their education at one of the Universities." (Board of Education, Vol.13 in 1905 cd.2378.XXVI.1:p.201) Although the Royal College did not offer the course for matriculation and degrees in the Universities of the mother-country at this point, the prospect of 1817 was fulfilled by the opening of the University of London Colonial Examinations in 1865. The English Scholarships were awarded in 1818 for the first time. After selecting students in 1821, 1822, 1823, the award ceased until 1839 after which the scholarships were awarded regularly. (Anderson, 1918:290-300). Thus, in Mauritius opportunities for higher education were opened in the first half of the 19th century. At the same time, it is important to point out that only English higher education was

encouraged by the government. That is to say, the Royal College became important for the British administration as a means of Anglicization of the culture as Ramdoyal describes. (Ramdoyal, 1971:178-185) For this purpose, English language and literature were introduced which brought an English Rector and two English Masters from England in 1839. (ibid:181) Classics, the British tradition in education, was adopted as a part of the curriculum. The authority of the Rector of the Royal College increased when the Rector became ex-officio member of the Educational Committee in 1857. However, the situation where the majority of the students came from French families and spoke French language prevented the rector from a smooth operation of Anglicization.

Opposition to the newly arrived rector continued over three years from 1859. This is shown in the number of students which dropped from 183 in 1858 to 13 in 1859. As the following table 4.1 shows, it was only in 1862 that the student number exceeded that of 1857. The recovery of the number of students also indicated progress in the Anglicization of the Royal College as the administrating officer of the government reported as

"the establishment is now assimilated as nearly as circumstances will allow by its organisation, curriculum, and studies, to the collegiate establishment in the mother country." (Colonial Report: Mauritius for 1862 p.110, par.93: P.P. 1864, 3304 XL, 1.)

Table 4.1: Student numbers at Royal College, 1857-1862

1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862
214	183	13	43	129	282

Source: Colonial Report: Mauritius, 1862, p.110, par. 93:
P.P. 1864 [3304].XL.1.

By the 1861 College Regulations, the Royal College was divided into three departments, the College Proper, the College School and the Preparatory Classes. (CO.167,461, 1864, March 22, Despatch No.21) The reform of the Royal College continued. The College Committee of the Council of Education in 1864 made six resolutions for a further improvement of the College. One of them was to "recommend for His Excellency's support the Rector's proposition of the Provincial Pass Examinations for matriculation for Honours at the London University." (Appendix No.2 to Minutes of Council No.12 of 1864, CO167, 461, 1864 June 6, No.158). This will be referred to later.

Secondary education was also organised in association with the Royal College in the second half of the 19th century, and the Royal College was placed at the top of the educational institutions.

In 1869, an Associated School system was adopted, under which

"boys' private adventure schools were admitted into association with the Royal College on condition that they should submit their pupils to an annual examination, to be held at the Royal College in the month of December, on the programme of studies of the

corresponding classes of the Royal College School."
 (Board of Education, Vol.13 in 1905, Cd.2378, XXVI,1.:
 P.205)

The object of the scheme was to impart secondary education to more pupils with limited government money by replacing a single endowed school with a properly organised and controlled system of private schools. (Bruce, 1870:59) However, the original four associated schools in 1869 gradually disappeared partly due to the low standard of the pupils at the private schools in comparison with those at the Royal College School. As a result, the Royal College School at Port Louis remained until 1912 and the School at Curepipe until 1913. According to Wise, the Port Louis School was re-opened in 1919. In 1929 the School contained from Class II to Upper Middle and opened Senior Cambridge Class in 1930. (Wise, 1931:155) The number of students on roll at the Royal College at Port Louis was 196 in 1929 as the following table shows.⁵ The Associated School system was amended and a grant-in-aid was to be paid to all schools in association with the Royal College. (Board of Education, Vol.13 in 1905, Cd.2378, XXVI,1.:P.205) A scheme of annual examination for the higher instruction of girls was also started in 1884 again in association with the Royal College. In 1900, there were 55 Associated Schools: 27 for boys and 28 for girls, out of which 489 boys and 251 girls sat the examination at the Royal College. These schools in association with the Royal College School were again organised as Aided Secondary Schools in 1915. There were 737 boys and 518 girls on roll in 15 aided secondary schools in 1915.

The following table 4.2 shows the number of students at secondary and higher schools between 1900 and 1938. The table shows that the number of students at the Royal College School or Schools remained around 200 between 1900 and 1938. On the other hand, the number of students at aided secondary schools increased from around 1200 to 1600 between 1915 and 1938. The reason for the number of schools remaining the same between 1922 and 1937 was the result of government policy. (The Director of Education, 1941: 144, No.122) The number of students on roll at the Royal College increased from about 200 in 1900 to around 300 in 1938. As a total the increase in student numbers for 40 years for secondary and higher education was not great.

Table 4.2: Students in secondary and higher schools, 1900-1939

	<u>Royal College</u>		<u>Royal College School</u>		<u>Royal College School</u>		<u>Associated Schools</u>			
	Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Curepipe Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Port Louis Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Number of Schools	No. of Boys on roll	No. of Girls on roll	
1900	202	169	131	116	67	55	B 27;G 28			Associated Schools
1901		171		102		68				
1902		208		119		61				
1903		190		105		77	B 25			
1904		260		74		43	B 26			
1905		242		70		35	B 26			
1906		240		69		43	B 25			
1907										
1908										
1909	203		124		62		B 22;G 23			
1910	194		124		68		B 22; G 23			
1911	204		101		60		G 23			
1912	220		89		15		G 15			
1913	208		76		-		G 14			
1914	252	268	-		-		G 10			
1915	206	229					T 15	737	518	Aided Second. Schools
1916	209	220					T 14			

(Cont.)

	<u>Royal College</u>		<u>Royal College School</u>		<u>Royal College School</u>		<u>Associated Schools</u>		
	Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Curepipe Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Port Louis Student Number on roll	Student Number Average Attendance	Number of Schools	No. of Boys on roll	No. of Girls on roll
1917	221						T 13		
1918	245						T 13		
1919	321						T 13		
1920	324						T 11	636	492
1921	346						T 12	722	439
1922	401						T 9	637	605
1923	500						T 9	708	618
1924	450	397					T 9	751	662
1925	420	368					T 9	776	698
1926	349	359					T 9	689	627
1927	327	323					T 10	719	678
1928	374	339					T 9	689	664
1929	365	299			196	185	T 9	685	679
1930	348	294			197	181	T 9	715	720
1931	356	305			167	150			
1932	325	255			92	85	T 9	1588	
1933	289						T 9	1573	
1934	302	286			102	96	T 9	1581	
1935	235	273			156	124	T 9	1556	
1936	?						T 9	1599	
1937	334	313			176	170	T 9	1632	
1938	313				190				

Source: Colonial Report - Annual. Mauritius: 1900 to 1938.

Notes: T = Boys schools and Girls schools; B = Boys Schools; G = Girls Schools.

A good indicator of the The Royal College's position as the centre of Mauritian education is provided by the scholarships system which became an incentive to all the Mauritian boys to be admitted at the Royal College. For example, the English Scholarships, which enabled two students to study in English universities or elsewhere, were awarded only to the students at the Royal College. At the Royal College, 33 scholarships and exhibitions were available in 1898 which could be obtained at different stages: (1) 16 to Primary Schools Scholarships and Exhibitions, (2) 3 to pupils of Associated Schools, (3) 11 scholarships and exhibitions open to all youths of the Colony for annual competition, (4) 3 scholarships and exhibitions to the Royal College students. (Colonial Report - Annual, Mauritius for 1898, P.38: P.P. 1900 Cd. 3-2, LIV, 657) Apart from these, grants of free tuition were also made in the Governor's gift. In 1898, out of 428 students at the Royal College and the College Schools, 142 were non-paying pupils. (ibid) In 1936, the number of scholarships and exhibitions increased to 36. (Colonial Report - Annual, Mauritius, 1936, No. 1828:24)

The Mauritian education system was highly centralised as we have seen and well organized through the examination system which was conducted by the external bodies. In 1869 when the associated schools system was introduced, Mr. Bruce, Rector of the Royal College, emphasised in the Report read at the Distribution of Prizes in 1869, the importance of public and impartial criteria to judge studies which created by examinations independent of the College authorities.

(Colonial Report, Mauritius for 1870, P.58: P.P. 1871 C.-407. XLVII, 229) External examination bodies presented as impartial seem to have been especially important in a country like Mauritius where the English education system was challenged by the French education system.⁶ The University of London Colonial Examinations was, first, used as a means of choosing English Scholarship students. (ibid:58-59) The examination was also a convenient measure of the students' progress at the Royal College. (ibid:33) In 1873, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations were conducted at the Royal College for the first time and examinations for the English Scholarships were to be conducted with a special paper set by examiners appointed by the syndicate of the University of Cambridge. (Colonial Report - Annual, Mauritius, 1873 Paragraph 52; P.P. 1875 C.1183 LI,1) Although the reason for choosing the UCLE as examinations for the English Scholarship Awards was not given in the Colonial Reports, it seems that the results of the ULCE since they had started were not good enough as Mr. Bruce commented as follows:

"From these figures it is evident that the advantages of superior education had not made themselves greatly felt in Mauritius." (Bruce, 1870:13)

"I believe that, for a long time, it will be impossible to fix as a minimum of knowledge in various branches to be required from colonial students a higher standard than the Matriculation Examination." (ibid:37)

Although the standard of the Senior Cambridge Local Examination and the London Matriculation Examination were regarded as equal, an advantage of the UCLE was that these could be used to assess secondary education at different

stages. However, at the Royal College, students were prepared for the London Matriculation and the Cambridge Senior Local Examinations, which qualified the students for an admission to the highest classes of the College on the Classical and Modern sides respectively and at the same time which qualified them for the English Scholarships. (Board of Education, Vol.13, P.204 in 1905 Cd.2378, XXVI.1.) Apart from the English Scholarships, the middle and higher forms of secondary schools were examined partly through examinations conducted by the Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, (Colonial Report - Annual: Mauritius for 1931, No.1597:23) and "every class of the Royal College was examined every year by the Cambridge Syndicate." (Director of Education, 1941:No.128, p.47) Other English external examinations such as the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute in Sugar Technology (Colonial Report - Annual: Mauritius for 1925, No.1332:p.13), or that of the London Chamber of Commerce (ibid for 1929, No.1503:38) were also held for the students of the College of Agriculture and for the Commercial Class at the Royal College School at Port Louis respectively. Thus, especially, above secondary education, external examinations were adopted partly or wholly as a means of assessing the progress of the students at various stages. This suggests that the content of Mauritian education above secondary education was determined by the English educational system.

So far we have looked at the brief sketch of the history and characteristics of Mauritian educational system up to 1939.

This shows that the educational system of Mauritius was formed to create Anglicization of the island through education. Centralisation of the education system placed the Royal College at the top of all schools, and annual examinations were conducted by the external examination bodies. The University of London Colonial Examinations introduced to open a way for matriculation and degrees in the University of the mother country showed signs of failure soon after their inception. In the following section we will explain why the ULCE did not expand in Mauritius, that is to say, why higher education did not go beyond Matriculation.

4. The Development and Consequences of the University of London Colonial Examinations

4-i Introduction

As we have seen previously, establishing the education system was a part of the policy of Anglicizing Mauritius. The Royal College was especially important as the centre of higher education for both British and Franco Mauritian. The introduction of the University of London Colonial Examinations, together with scholarships which enabled students for further studies in Britain was a means of Anglicizing the Royal College.

However, the introduction of the Matriculation examination in Mauritius opened a way for obtaining degrees from a British University not only for Mauritian students but also for other colonial students for the next 100 years. In this sense, it is important to examine the genesis and the development of

the ULCE in Mauritius.

Firstly the development of the ULCE in Mauritius will be described. Secondly, with respect to employment in the government service, the position of the ULCE will be examined in comparison with other qualifications. Finally the role of the ULCE will be discussed.

4-ii The Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations, 1865-1939

As we have seen, the University of London Colonial Examinations were conceived in the process of the re-organisation of the Royal College in 1861. One of the resolutions made at the time of re-organisation was to put into practice Article 4 of the Rules and Regulations of the Royal College, which was to open up a way to further qualification for higher students "in case of any University in the Mother Country allowing students to Matriculate or take out Degrees without leaving the Colony." (SM 137, 1864)

An application for a Provincial Examination Centre to the Senate of the University of London was made in June 1864 through Secretary Caldwell of the Colonial Office with an accompanying letter from the Governor Sir H. Barkly and a resolution of Committee. (C.O. 167.461, Despatch No.158, 1864) The procedure of conduct of colonial examinations was approved by the Senate on July 13th, 1864.

The 11 candidates took, for the first time in the colonies,

the University of London Colonial Examination in the Midsummer Matriculation Examination in 1865. 6 out of the 11 candidates passed in two divisions: 5 in the First Division, 1 in the Second Division. The Senate also approved the adding of the First and the Second BA Examinations to the Matriculation Examination in 1865. This was to encourage the students who failed to obtain the two English Scholarships to continue their study for the degree of B.A. in Mauritius. (SM 111, 1865) The Senate also resolved to open the Matriculation Examination to candidates who were not students of the Royal College. In 1866, 2 candidates took the First BA and both of them passed. The first Second BA candidates took the examination in 1872 although none of them passed in that year. The following year, 3 candidates obtained the BA degree for the first time in the colonies.

The following table 4.3 shows the number of candidates and passed candidates in different examinations between 1865 and 1939. (See also Appendix 5, Table 5.1)

The number of matriculation candidates increased every decade between 1865 and 1899, but decreased after 1900 until the 1920's. The reason will be given later. The candidate numbers in the First BA, which was replaced with the Intermediate BA in 1881, were highest in the 1870's and decreased until the 1910's. Although the first colonial students passed the BA in the 1870's, the number of candidates for the BA did not increase in the next 60 years. The total number of the BA graduates for nearly 70 years was only 18. The Intermediate

Table 4.3: Candidates and passed candidates for the ULCE, 1865-1939

Year	Mat (Jan & June)		Inter Arts		B A		Inter Science		BSc (General)	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1860/ 1869	26	15	2	2						
1870/ 1879	138	58	32	23	8	3				
1880/ 1889	274	82	18	12	4	2				
1890/ 1899	341	70	11	6						
1900/ 1909	135	57	5	4	7	3				
1910/ 1919	116	37	4	E 1		1				
1920/ 1929	48	31	11	5	? P 1	1 0	18 Re 1	12 Re 1	1	1
1930/ 1939	156	77		21 Re 1		8		22 Re 1 Supp 1		2
Total	1234	427		74 E 1 Re 3		18	18 Re 1	24 Re 2 Supp 1		3

Year	Inter Commerce		Inter Agriculture		Inter Economy	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1930/1939	1	0	1	1	?	1

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1865 - 1940-1
London University Gazette, 1915-1916 - 1940-41.

Note 1: Candidate Numbers are not available in the 1930's.

Note 2: Cand = Candidates ; Pass = Passed Candidates

Re = Re-examination, one subject only; Supp = Supplementary Subject

P = Pass Subsidiary subject only ; Inter = Intermediate

Ge = General

Science Examination started in 1923, but the candidate number was never large. Accordingly the candidate number in the BSc General was very small. Between 1926, when the first BSc General Examination was held, and 1939, only 3 passed the degree examination. In 1930, Intermediate Commerce and Intermediate Agriculture Examinations were held, but only 1 candidate sat for each examination and only 1 in the Intermediate Agriculture passed. Neither of the examinations were held afterward. The Intermediate Economics Examination was held in 1939, but the candidate numbers are not obtainable, and only 1 candidate passed.

Thus, the number of students entered in the University of London Colonial Examinations between 1900 and 1939 was very low. There is an impression that the number of the secondary students fell towards the 1920's and slightly increased in 1930's. However the number of candidates for the Senior Examination of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations, whose qualification was regarded as equal to the Matriculation Examination of the University of London Colonial Examination, increased every decade after 1900 although the number fell slightly in the 1930's as the following table 4.4 shows (See also Appendix 5 - Table 5.2). Although the increased candidate numbers of the Senior Local should not be interpreted as a natural increase (as a second attempt should be taken into account as a reason for the increase), we infer that the number of those who intended to obtain secondary school qualification did, in fact, increase between 1900 and 1939.

**Table 4.4: Candidate and passed candidate numbers for ULCE
Matriculation and UCLE senior, 1900-1939**

Year	Matriculation-London			Senior-Cambridge		
	Cand	Pass	%	Cand	Pass	%
1900/1909	135	57	42.2	945	333	35.2
1910/1919	116	37	31.9	1536	484	31.5
1920/1929	48	31	64.6	2630	593	22.5
1930/1939	156	77	49.4	2427	1023	47.2
Total	455	202	44.4	7538	2433	32.3

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
 The University of Cambridge Local Examinations
 Syndicate, Reports and Tables, 1900-1904.
 The University of Cambridge Local Examinations,
 Papers, Class Lists, Reports, 1900-1939.

The percentage of passed candidates for the London Matriculation is higher than that for the Senior Cambridge examination. This is partly explained by the relatively small number of candidates selected by the Royal College for the London Matriculation.⁷ (Board of Education, Vol.13 in 1905 Cd.2378, XXVI:1: P.259) The Senior Cambridge examination was taken by candidates from other colleges as well as the Royal College students.

The following table 4.5 shows previous education by the successful candidates at different examinations between 1900 and 1939. The table shows that the Royal College students appear only at the Matriculation examinations and the proportion of the Royal College students gradually decreased

Table 4.5: Previous education, 1900-1939

	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	Total
Matriculation					
Royal College	41	32	8	4	85
Private Study	16	4	19	54	93
Other Colleges		1	4	19	24
					202
Intermediate Arts					
Royal College	1				1
Private Study	3	2	6	22	33
Other Colleges					
					34
Intermediate Science					
Royal College					
Private Study			13	23	36
Other Colleges					
Intermediate Agriculture					
Royal College					
Private Study					
Other Colleges				1	1
Intermediate Economy					
Royal College					
Private Study				1	1
Other Colleges					
B A					
Royal College					
Private Study	3	1	1	8	13
Other Colleges					
BSc					
Royal College					
Private Study				3	3
Other Colleges					

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940.

London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-1.

towards the end of the 1930's. Conversely the number of private candidates and candidates who studied at other colleges increased. With respect to examinations above the Intermediate examinations, all the candidates are private students, except one candidate who sat the Intermediate Arts examination. This suggests a weak relation between the Royal College and the ULCE despite the object of the Royal College which was to prepare the students for Matriculation and degrees in the Universities of the Mother Country. (ibid:253) The reason for the few candidates for the ULCE after 1900 can be explained as follows.

Firstly, the scholarships which enabled two students of the Royal College to pursue studies in the United Kingdom or in any other country were awarded on the English Scholarship Examination on the condition that the students had passed either the Matriculation Examination of the University of London on the classical side, or the Senior Cambridge Local Examination on the Modern side. (ibid:256).

Secondly, with respect to government employment, one of the conditions which exempted candidates from the Civil Service Examinations was to pass the Matriculation Examination of the University of London or the Senior Cambridge Local Examination. (Mauritius Civil List, 1900:156). Thus, it seems that there were no advantages for Mauritian youth to study further than the Matriculation or Senior Cambridge Examinations with respect to scholarships or to employment in the government service. Accordingly, our interest in the

relation between the University of London Colonial Examinations and government employment must be focused on those who passed the Matriculation examinations, which we will show in the following section.

4-iii The Role of the University of London Colonial Examinations with Respect to Government Service

As we have seen previously, the number of successful candidates for the University of London Colonial Examinations did not increase after 1900. The predominant number of successful candidates sat the Matriculation examination. In this section, the relation between those who obtained the University of London qualifications and government employment will be examined.

The number of government servants shown in the following tables reveals the successful candidates who appeared in The Mauritius Civil List for 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940 and the Staff List for 1951. In the Civil Lists, as the distinction between European staff and Mauritian staff is not shown, we are not able to show how ^{much} ~~many~~ Mauritian staff increased between 1900 and 1951. Accordingly, the proportion of the University of London qualification holders (external) among the total number of Mauritian staff will not be shown. Although we wanted to use the 1953 Staff List in addition to 1950 as in the case of Ceylon and the Gold Coast, the 1953 Staff List for Mauritius is not available at the British Library. However, the comparison between the University of London graduates (external) and those who qualified at

University College, London, the University of Oxford, and three Inn's of Courts will be made.

4-iii-1 Comparison between University of London Graduates (external) and Those who qualified in England, who entered Government Service

The following table 4.6 shows the number of University of London graduates (external) and the number of those who obtained their degrees and professional qualifications in various institutions between 1900 and 1939 and the number of those who appeared in the Civil List for 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940 and the Staff List for 1951.

Among 16 who obtained degrees through the ULCE between 1900 and 1939, 12 (75%) entered the government service. Although the number is small, all 3 BSc graduates entered the government service. With respect to internal graduates, 6 out of 13 University College, London graduates held a position in the government service. The number of University of Oxford graduates who entered the government service is 2 out of 8, and 17 out of 63 (27%) for Barrister in the three Inn's of Courts. Thus more external degree holders entered the government service than the internal students although the number is small.

With respect to departments in the government service, the majority of the external degree holders entered Education. Among 9 graduates who entered the Education department, 1 held a position of Professor, 3 became masters and 4 became

Assistant Masters of the Royal College. Thus, all of them held teaching positions. Whereas, Medicine and Law were the main area which the internal students entered, although the number of internal students in the Medical department is small.

Table 4.6: Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications in Civil Lists

Degrees Qualif.	Govern.(1) Servants	Educa tion	Medical	Account ant	Magistry Procurement	Emigration	Secretariat	Public Works	Civil Commisioners	Crown Counsel
<u>External 1900-1939</u>										
ULCE BA	13	9	7		1	1				
BSc	3	3	2	1						
<u>Internal</u>										
<u>1900-1931</u>										
Univ. Coll. London										
Engineering	2	1						1		
Medical Science	11	5	5							
<u>1900-1939</u>										
Univ. of Oxford	8 (2)	2								
Jur	3									
Cl Mod	5		1							
PPE	1						1			
<u>1900-1939</u>										
Inns of Court										
Gray's Inn										
Lincoln's Inn	1	1			1					
The Middle Temple	62	16			14				1	1

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-1. London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41. Minutes of University College, London 1900-1931; The Mauritius Civil List, 1900, 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940; Staff List, Mauritius, 1951; University of Oxford, Register of Matriculations, 1900-1939-40; Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1901-1930 (Oxford); Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1931-1950 (Oxford); Gray's Inn Admissions & Calls etc. 1625-1900, 1901-1945; The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol.III. Admissions from AD 1894 to AD 1956; Bar Book 1893-1905 to 1929-1944; Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Vol.II and III.

Note 1: No. of Government servants appeared in the Civil List of 1900, 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1951.

2: 1 student took Jur and Cl Mod.

4-iii-2 Successful Candidates for the Non-Degree ULCE who entered the Government Service

Previously we have shown that passing the Matriculation examination of the University of London filled a condition for the government employment. It is necessary to examine those who passed other examinations, i.e. the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations. The following table shows the relationship between government employment and the qualification, excluding degrees, obtained through the ULCE.

Table 4.7: Government Servants in the Civil Lists who passed Non-degree ULCE, 1900 and 1939

	Matriculation	Inter Arts	Inter Science	Inter Agri	Inter Eco	Total
Successful Candidates	202	35	37	1	1	276
Government Servants	37	16	26	0	0	79
	18.3%	45.7%	70.3%			28.6%

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.
The Mauritius Civil List for 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940.
Staff List 1951

Note:

1. The number includes candidates who passed a part of the examinations.
2. The same person appears in different examinations. Among 16 government servants who passed the Intermediate Arts, 6 appeared in the Matriculation number, 4 out of 26 government servants who passed the Intermediate Science examinations also appeared in the Matriculation number. That is to say, the actual number of successful candidates who entered the government service is 69.
3. Inter Arts : Intermediate Arts.
 Inter Science : Intermediate Science.
 Inter Agri : Intermediate Agriculture.
 Inter Eco : Intermediate Economy.

The Table shows that 18.3% of the total number of the successful candidates at the Matriculation examinations entered the government service. However this proportion is rather small when we consider that passing the Matriculation examination exempted candidates from the Civil Service Examinations. Although passing the Senior Cambridge Local Examination was another condition for exemption from the Civil Service Examinations, it seems that a similar proportion of the passed candidates entered the government service. Successful candidates at the Intermediate examinations had more chance to enter the government service, and successful candidates at the Intermediate Science (70.3%) had more chance than those who passed the Intermediate Arts (45.7%).

According to Benedict, government employment offered the most feasible alternative to work in the fields for the young Indian who were the majority of the Mauritian population, as the higher posts in the sugar industry were dominated by the Franco-Mauritians, those in commerce by the Gujeratis and those in retail trade by the Chinese. (Benedict, 1958:319). This suggests that the proportion of entry to the government service was controlled rather than there were alternative positions outside the government service for the secondary school certificate holders. If the positions in the government service had been limited and only 18.3% of the secondary certificate holders were required, the government service could not have been an avenue for social mobility in Mauritius.

With respect to the area in which the government servants were allocated, the following table 4.8 shows the departments of the government servants.

Table 4.8 Successful ULCE candidates and Departments of the Government Service (excluding the BA and BSc)

	Matriculation	Interm. Arts	Interm. Science	Total
Agriculture	1		1	2
Audit	2	1		3
Customs	1			1
Public Instruction Education Observatory	14	12	12	38
General clerical	4	3	12	19
Judicial	1			1
Immigration Poor Reliefs	1			1
Labour	1			1
Observatory	2		1	3
Medical Health	6			6
Railways	4			4
Total	37	16	26	79

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.
The Mauritius Civil List for 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940
Staff List 1951.

The table shows that, on average, about half of the government servants with University of London qualifications (excluding the BA and BSc) held positions in the Education department. Although the Matriculation qualification holders

spread in various departments, Intermediate qualification holders are concentrated in the Education and General Clerical Services. Among those who held a position at the Education department, the majority held positions as an assistant master at the Royal College and Royal College School as the following table shows.

Table 4.9: Positions of ULCE government servants in the Education Department

	Royal College	Royal College School	Others	Total
Matriculation	8	5	1	14
Inter Arts	5	4	3	12
Inter Science	6	5	1	12
Total	19	14	5	38

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.
The Mauritius Civil List, for 1911,1920,1930,1940
Staff List 1951

According to the Civil Lists, the number in the General Clerical Service increased after 1931. This suggests that positions of Assistant Masters, which the majority of the Intermediate successful candidates became, were no longer available after 1931. The examination of the Civil Lists also suggests that most of the successful candidates at the Intermediate examinations were employed before passing the examinations. It seems that those who took the Intermediate examinations expected to become an assistant master at either

the Royal College or Royal College School. In other words, passing the Intermediate examination qualified them to become assistant masters.

4-iv Summary

The ULCE were introduced in 1865 in the struggle for Anglicization of the Royal College. The candidate numbers increased until the 1880's for the Matriculation examinations and until the 1870's for the Intermediate examinations. After the 1880's, the number actually decreased and remained small until the 1930's. Available examinations were the Matriculation, the Intermediate Arts and the BA examinations until the 1910's. Although Science examinations were introduced in the 1920's, the increase in the candidate number was seen only in the Intermediate Science examinations.

Although the ULCE were introduced to enable students, who failed to obtain the Scholarship to study in England, to obtain degrees of the Mother country without leaving Mauritius, the number of graduates are small. The reason for this small number of graduates and the total number of candidates is explained by the requirement for government employment and Scholarship examinations. The condition for government employment was passing the Matriculation. In order to take the English Scholarship examination on the Classical side it was necessary to have been a student in the Royal College and to have passed the Matriculation examination. This suggests that passing the Matriculation

examination was the ultimate goal for the majority of Mauritian youth. If the student was able, he would have a chance to go to Britain for further study. If he failed to obtain an English scholarship, he would still have been available for inclusion in the government servants list.

As we have seen, the Senior Cambridge Local Examination was much more popular than the London Matriculation examination although both are regarded as equal as a secondary school certificate. In comparison with the Senior Cambridge Local Examination, the London Matriculation examination was important only when a student took the Classical side of the Scholarship examination. The Intermediate examinations were used as a qualification for a position as assistant master at the Royal College or Royal College School although the available positions became fewer after 1931.

The majority of the London degree holders (75%) also took a teaching post at the Royal College. In comparison with the successful candidates at the Intermediate examinations who became Assistant Masters, graduates took senior positions such as Professor or Masters.

As the Civil Lists do not describe the distinction between Europeans and Mauritians, we are not able to show either the proportion of Mauritian staff in the government service or the proportion of the successful candidates of the ULCE among other qualifications held by staff in the government service. However, a comparison between the graduates of the ULCE and

graduates of the two British universities and barristers at the three Inn's of Courts show that a larger proportion of the University of London graduates (external) entered the government service than the internal graduates or barristers. With respect to the sector entered by the successful candidates of the ULCE, those who passed the Matriculation examination became clerks in various government departments, and the majority of the Intermediate certificate and the BA and BSc degree holders became Masters and Assistant Masters at the Royal College or Royal College School. This is in contrast to the internal students who entered Medicine and Law, although here the number is small.

This implies that the University of London Colonial Examinations together with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations contributed to Anglicization of education, especially of the Royal College. However, the role of the ULCE was limited as the successful candidates of the ULCE did not hold positions in the policy decision sector in the government service.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Mauritius between 1900 and 1939 with respect to the development of the education system and government employment. The literature shows that education was a site of struggle between the Franco-Mauritian and the British administrators. For this reason, education in English, especially Anglicization of the Royal College was

important. (Wise, 1931) (Ramdoyal, 1971). According to Ramdoyal, the British administration failed to develop the education system, and at the same time, the Franco-Mauritians maintained their power in politics and economy. Juggernaut (1987) stresses the importance of the clientele classes in the national and international context. According to Juggernaut, clientele classes developed a particular form of education which became instrumental for the reproduction of the clientele classes. Thus the ULCE and the UCLE were important as they served to reproduce in Mauritius the economic and cultural needs of the dominant class in the British metropolis.

We shall consider the above points in the light of our own analysis. Provision of primary education and secondary education was formed differently. The former was conceived as a part of the Christian mission in Mauritius and as a means of stabilizing the social order for the emancipated children from slavery and later for the children of indentured labourers. The basic character of schools were formed when an Ordinance for promoting ~~the~~ elementary education amongst the poorer classes became law in 1856. Under this ordinance, grant-in-aid was introduced. Through the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, regulations were consolidated. The number of pupils enrolled in both government and grant-in-aid schools increased from 19,481 in 1900 (23% of the total school age population) to 40,000 pupils in 1941 (40.7% of the total school age population).

Secondary education developed earlier than primary education. The Royal College taken over by the British administration became a site of struggle between the Franco-Mauritian and the British administrator. The University of London Colonial Examination was introduced in 1865 in the struggle for Anglicization of the Royal College. The Matriculation examination was used as a condition for the English Scholarship and at the same time it was to offer an opportunity to the students, who failed to obtain the English Scholarship, to obtain a degree of a University of the Mother country. However, as we have seen, the number of candidates for the ULCE actually decreased after 1900 until the 1920's. If we take the secondary student number in 1937, 2142 students were enrolled in the Royal College, Royal College School and 9 Associated schools, which are 5.3% of the secondary school age population.⁸ Among 2142 students, 134 students passed either the Senior Cambridge (120) or the London Matriculation (14) examination in 1937. This suggests that in 1939 the proportion of students who obtain secondary school certificate is still small while the proportion of primary school children reached 40.7% in 1941.

Thus, the small number of the Secondary School Certificate holders implies a small number of candidates for higher education, which is expressed in the candidate numbers for the ULCE. This also implies that there was virtually no higher education system to support the ULCE above the Intermediate level.

As we have seen the Matriculation examination was related to the Scholarship examination on the classical side and also to government employment. However the proportion of those who entered the government service among the successful candidates at the Matriculation examination is small (18.3%). Although the proportion of the Intermediate and degree qualification holders held more positions than the Matriculation certificate holders, the former mainly held positions in the Education department while the latter held clerical positions. In comparison with those who entered the government service with the University of London qualifications, those who obtained their qualifications in Britain entered medicine or legal professions although here the number is small.

Our findings suggest that in Mauritius between 1900 and 1939 there was no higher education policy which could prepare Mauritians for the public decision making sector. Opportunities for government employment followed success in the Secondary School Certificate examination, which opened the way only to clerical positions. If the government employees took higher qualifications than the Matriculation qualification, they intended to become masters at the Royal College or Royal College School.

With respect to the rest of Matriculants who did not enter the government service, that is to say, who were not listed in the Civil Lists, clerical or teaching positions outside the government service are likely to have been taken. For

example, the Year Book of Statistics for 1953 enumerates 633 teachers and 1399 clerical workers who belonged to trade unions or industrial associations.⁹ (General Statistical Office, 1953:57) Those who failed to hold prestigious positions listed in the Civil Lists or in the Year Book of Statistics or those who failed to pass the Secondary School Certificate seem to have entered teaching positions in private schools or to have become private coaches as Benedict describes. (Benedict 1958:321-322)

This suggests that education produced an educational work force of teachers but the relation between education and social mobility in Mauritius was relatively weak as education did not produce a group of people entering major decision making sectors. In Mauritius where Franco-Mauritians were dominant in the economy and in culture, the British had to hold important positions in administration. For this reason, it was not in the British interest to develop higher education. By not developing higher education, the British ensured control over the higher levels of the government administration while the Franco-Mauritians retained their position as the dominant group in the economy. Further, and of major significance, Indians were deprived of opportunities for social mobility through education.

If we return to the arguments in the existing literature on Anglicization of the island through education, the ULCE contributed to Anglicization of the island in the educational field here reproducing British culture. Yet the role of ULCE

was limited as the educational field was not a crucial policy sector. Our findings support the assertion by Ramdoyal that the British educational system failed to produce counter power to the Franco-Mauritians, between 1900 and 1939. With respect to the view on clientele classes by Juggernaut, his argument is weak. He argues that external examinations, especially the ULCE as the only higher education available in island, played an important role in producing clientele classes. As we have shown, the significance of the ULCE between 1900 and 1939 seems to have been very weak as the number of successful candidates of the ULCE remained small and did not provide entry to power groups. We have seen that the ULCE provided entry to the government service only at clerical level or led to school teaching. It is difficult to believe that membership of either group could constitute what Juggernaut calls a clientele class following Susanne Bodenheimer. Even if some individuals could be considered members of such a class the number must have been extremely small. We do not accept Juggernaut's argument purporting to show how Britain through its colonial policy, especially educational policy, ensured the perpetuation of its interests. We conclude that British colonial policy in Mauritius prevented the development of higher education in order to maintain control over the higher levels of government administration. Further, opportunities for social mobility through education were thus denied to the Indian population. Franco-Mauritians reproduced themselves as dominant group in economy through their own social and cultural networks.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Wise (1931) states that it was in 1832 that "admission to the College was extended to any boy whose parents could pay the fees, no matter what his creed or colour might be." (Wise, 1931:126).

Augustin writes that "In a covering despatch, the Secretary of State declared that coloured children had the right of admission to the Royal College (Co. 170/2 p.70. Despatch No.59 of 29 June 1829) (Augustin, 1987:80).

2. Definition of Creole, according to Augustin is as follows:

" the white under the French government in the second half of the nineteenth century, the general population of Malagasy or African extraction, Indian who married Creoles and adopted Christianity." (Augustin, 1987:22).

3. The number of children aged 5 to 14 in 1900 is 85,657 (Census of Mauritius and its Dependencies, taken on the 1st April, 1901).

The percentage of children enrolled in the grant-in-aid and government schools in the total number of school age children is 22.7% (19,481 of 85,657).

4. According to the Final Report on the Census Enumeration (1931) the number of children aged 5 to 14 is 98,219. The percentage of children enrolled in the total number of school age children is 40.7% (40,000 of 98,219).

5. Royal College Schools refer to the Royal College School at Port Louis and the Royal College School at Curepipe. The report on the Schools in the Annual Report of Mauritius is not consistent. In 1868, the number of students at the Royal College School at Port Louis was 74. In 1879 there were 65 students at Curepipe and 178 at Port Louis. In 1913, 76 students were on roll at the School at Curepipe but no number was mentioned for the School at Port Louis. The number of students at Curepipe also disappeared from the Report in 1914. In 1929 the number of students at Port Louis was again recorded as 196 on roll but the School at Curepipe was not mentioned after 1914.

6. In the Colonial Report, some comments on the difference between English and French education systems are found.

" the French and Creole opinions of education, and the system and discipline which ought to be observed, differ so widely from the English that a complete concurrence of opinion on the subject is out of the question." (Colonial Report: Mauritius

for 1859, paragraph 104, p.103: P.P.1861 [2841.]
L,1.)

" From the English system of instruction our programme differs chiefly in the arithmetical method adopted, and from the programme of the French Lycees we diverge most widely in our system of teaching history." (Bruce, 1870:30).

7. "Two calendar months before the date fixed for each Matriculation Examination of the University of London, the Rector of Royal College shall cause to be posted up in the College Hall a list of those students whom, after consulting the professors, he will allow to present themselves as candidates in the approaching examination." (Board of Education, Vol.13 in 1905 Cd.2378, XXVI.1:P.259).
8. The number of secondary school age population in the 1931 Census report is 40,228. The percentage of pupils enrolled of the total number of secondary school pupils is 5.3% (2,142 of 40,228).
9. Details of Clerical and Professional Trade Unions, and Industrial Associations

<u>Clerical</u>	No.
War Department Civilian Employees' Association	127
Government Clerical Service Association	142
Municipal Employees' Union	72
Docks & Wharves Staff Employees' Association	207
Clerks' Association	78
Bank Officers' Guild	72
The Cable & Wireless Employees' Association	23
Sugar Industry Staff Employees' Association	565
The Mauritius Commercial Bank Employees Assoc.	113
	<hr/>
	1399

<u>Professional</u>	No.
Mauritius Senior Professional Civil Servants Association	112
Secondary & Preparatory School Teachers' Association	58
Government Teachers' Union	100
Union of Aided Primary School Teachers	466
Association of Principals of Roman Catholic Secondary Schools	9
Government Nursing Association	80
Government Sanitary Officers' Association	32
	<hr/>
	857

(Year Book of Statistics, 1953:57)

CHAPTER V

A CASE STUDY - GOLD COAST

1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in the Gold Coast Colony between 1900 and 1939 in relation to the development of the Gold Coast educational system, especially with respect to Achimota College, and in relation to employment in the government service.

In the Gold Coast Colony, as in most other African countries, the development of a formal education system began late. Until 1921, there was only one assisted secondary school (SPG Grammar School) aside from the Government Technical School, or government and missionary training colleges for teachers. Achimota College, the first government secondary school, was opened in 1927. At Achimota College, the University Class started in 1930. As there were no universities in the Gold Coast during the period of concern of this thesis, students who sought degrees went abroad or took the University of London Colonial Examinations. Although the number of candidates for the ULCE was never large before 1939, it steadily increased after 1930, specially from Achimota College.

The impact of the ULCE was therefore concentrated in the last 10 years of this period which also marked the beginning of

the long relationship between the University of London and the Gold Coast which was to come to fruition in the Special Relation after World War II.

There is very little disagreement among scholars that the Phelps-Stokes Commission and an Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies in the 1920's emphasised the need for mass education which was to be related to the everyday life of the Africans. It was also accepted that these bodies' reports strongly reflected the dominant view held of the work on the education of black people at the Hampton Institute and the Tuskegee Institute in the United States, which will be discussed later. Yet, as in other colonies, the curriculum of the secondary schools was geared to external examinations, namely the University of Cambridge Local Examinations for the secondary school certificates and the University of London Colonial Examinations for higher qualifications. As a consequence, both Cambridge and London Examination Boards had a powerful shaping influence on the curriculum of the secondary schools in the Gold Coast.

This approach shows that there is a gap in development between primary education and post primary education, or a gap between the recommendations and what actually happened. From this, several questions were raised about the education in the Gold Coast, namely whether mass education advocated by these Reports was appropriate at that time, or whether the promotion of mass education flowed naturally from previous

Gold Coast experience as opposed to being consciously directed against any expansion of higher education.

The literature reveals two main arguments on the education policies in the Gold Coast in the colonial era: first, that it was the Africans themselves who demanded an academic type education for the few and ignored primary education for the mass, and second, that it was British policies which neglected the demand for higher education from which present problems in education and social problems, derive. However, in the existing literature terms such as "Africans" or "British" are vaguely used. It is not clear to whom the term refers. For example, does British refer to the British government or Colonial Office or local government or advisory committees or missionary organizations? In the same way does Africans refer to Africans educated abroad, or locally educated Africans? These different groups acted according to their own interests in forming the education system of the Gold Coast. Those who emphasised mass education were advisory committees in Britain. Africans who raised their voice for higher education were mainly intellectuals who were educated abroad. At the same time the Colonial Office and local government also had to seek a means of producing suitably qualified Africans to replace Europeans when the local administration expanded. In this context, Achimota College, the Government secondary school, was established. In the late 1930's a link was seen between Achimota College, the University of London Colonial Examinations and local Government employment.

Further, the above arguments ignore the factor of external examinations. By ignoring the reality of external examinations, the existing literature fails to take into account a dominant factor which shaped the Gold Coast education systems.

British universities such as those of Cambridge or London pursued their own academic interests. Although those universities responded to requests made by individual colonies, the characteristics of the examinations hardly changed. Thus external examinations equipped the people of the Gold Coast with an education which was a production of the British system.

In this chapter firstly, the relevant literature on the Gold Coast education system in the colonial era will be reviewed. Secondly, the general, economic and educational situation will be briefly described. This will show the necessity for producing highly qualified Africans for the expansion of the Gold Coast Colony. Thirdly, the emergence and development of the University of London Colonial Examinations in the Gold Coast will be examined. In particular the relation between the University of London Colonial Examinations, Achimota College and local government employment will be investigated by tracing the relationship between success in the ULCE and the nature of the subsequent occupations. This analysis will show the importance of Achimota College as well as of the ULCE. Finally, the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations will be evaluated.

2. Review of Issues involved in the Development of the Gold Coast Education in the Colonial Era

As has been mentioned previously, there is very little disagreement among scholars about the importance of recommendations on the Gold Coast education made by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies from the 1920's onwards. Yet interpretations vary among scholars. The differences partly derive from differences in the interpretation of sources. In this section the main issues on education policies in the Gold Coast during the colonial era will briefly reviewed and we will make clear who talked about whose education and consider the deficiency of the existing literature.

Brown in his article (1964) asserts that the emphasis on mass education in the Reports by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Adevisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies was deliberate. He points out the following reasons for this. Firstly, both the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Advisory Committee failed to consult educated Africans' opinion. Already by 1920 the National Congress of British West Africa formed by a group of West Africans had petitioned the King for constitutional changes leading to self-determination, and for the establishment of a West African university. (Brown, 1964:368). Further, the adoption of the concept of Humpton and Tuskegee Institutes¹ was questionable because 'Industrial education practiced at these institutions had already been criticized by Du Bois² on the grounds that the

industrial education prevented black people from equipping themselves with the equivalent white qualifications. In relation to this, King (1971) points out that Du Bois' analysis in 1903 of the educational and political assumptions of industrial education began to provide for such peoples in India and Africa a rational platform from which allegedly educational reforms could be scrutinized for their underlying political implications. (King, 1971:11) Finally, not only did the members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Advisory Committee over-lap but they also shared a common concern as missionaries. This accounts for the emphasis on popular education. Thus Brown argues that the adaptation policy was formed by a group of people who did not perceive the contemporary situation in the Gold Coast.

Brown explains, however, that the final decision as to acceptance of recommendations rested with the individual colonies as the Advisory Committee was a purely advisory body. According to Brown, the reason for enabling the Africans to gain access to postprimary education and white - collar jobs in a relatively early period in West Africa in comparison with East Africa was a combination of factors, as follows:

1. There were few European settlers outside forts who might have prevented Africans from opening up secondary and higher education to Africans in order to preserve favourable positions for themselves.
2. It became difficult to fill the places in the government administration exclusively with Europeans

because of the cost when the local government administration expanded after 1900.

3. The number of educated Africans increased.

However, Brown's explanation of the deliberate policy of adaptation and the advancement of Africans in the Gold Coast needs a further explanation which links the two policies together. For example, although Brown pointed out an increase in the number of educated Africans, the term "educated Africans" is vague. It was only in 1923 that assisted secondary schools increased from 1 (1922) to 2. The University Class at Achimota College was opened only in 1929. It seems that the increase in the African staff in the government service appeared only at Junior staff level and these were given a training by individual departments.

Foster (1965) has further developed Brown's argument by specifically explaining why the official recommendations were not implemented, namely, why education in the Gold Coast, especially at the secondary level was academic. Foster asserts that it was not only the educational policy statements in the early twentieth century such as those of the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report or the Recommendation by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies which stressed the development of a practical education based upon agricultural and simple trade skills suitable for the daily activities of the majority of the Africans. "In general, the examination of contemporary nineteenth-century sources would indicate a climate of opinion that was very favourable to new

educational experiments in the area of technical and agricultural education, combined with considerable doubts regarding the suitability of academic forms of instruction." (Foster, 1965:56) Despite the fact that technical and agricultural education was consistently stressed by educationalists, education remained manifestly academic. This academic nature has been misinterpreted by educational historians as a result of an attempt by European educationists to impose their educational systems and curricula on the Africans and to discourage the development of industrial and agricultural education. According to Foster, the misinterpretation derives from a one sided view of "the structural similarities between the systems of English elementary education and that of the Gold Coast," (ibid:53) and educational historians' failure to "examine the very different functions performed by these educational institutions and the motivations which led to people to enter them." (ibid) According to Foster, it was the Africans themselves, not European educationists, who insisted upon the creation of academic type schools. Africans demanded academic education for two reasons: African perceptions of the realities of the occupational structure, (ibid:133) and as a means of obtaining parity with Europeans. (ibid:136). In a society where the majority are engaged in subsistence farming, occupational opportunities are limited. In the process of expansion of European political and commercial influence, employment opportunities increased in public service and in commercial fields even if the overall numbers were limited. Academic secondary schools provided the most

effective means of entry into such employment. (ibid:136) In comparison with clerical jobs, the number of technical and agricultural positions was relatively less and their income and prestige were inferior. With reference to the question of parity, Foster argues that "western education, in fact, remained the most visible and tangible manifestation of European power, hence access to that power demanded entry to the type of education provided in the metropolis itself." (ibid:136) Therefore schools had to be identical in character with those of the metropolitan power. (ibid:136)

Foster's contribution is valuable as an explanation of who it was who sought an academic type education and why. However the fact that it was Africans and not the European educationists who urged an academic type education does not necessarily explain that British administration is unrelated to an academic type of education.

Further, in order to obtain parity, an objective measurement which assessed both Gold Coast students and British students was necessary. The external examinations met this requirement. However, Foster barely touched on this subject of the impact of the ULCE in the Gold Coast. As a consequence he remained indifferent to the importance of the British imposed requirement in employment, namely equal African and European employment qualifications. The Africans' desire for an academic secondary school is only part of the explanation. The British government in the 1920's required highly qualified Africans to replace

expensive European staff. (Guggisberg, 1924:5) This necessity caused the shift in Government in educational policy on secondary education. The examination of the connection between the Government, selected secondary schools and external examinations will throw light on the function of academic secondary education in the Gold Coast in the colonial era, which this chapter will examine later.

Contrary to the opinion of Foster who stresses Africans' initiative in determining the nature of education in the Gold Coast, Fewzi (1983) argues that it was British Colonial policy that delayed the development of higher education in the Gold Coast. Although Fewzi is concerned with the period between 1939 and 1951, which is after the period we are going to examine, it will be useful to look at his thesis, as the theme is directly related to our concerns.

Fewzi approaches the question of university development in the colonies in terms of the dialectics of production and consumption between the "centre" countries and the colonies. (Fewzi, 1983:563). That is to say,

"the development of colonial higher education depended on the expansion of the lower educational structure, on employment opportunities and financial resources: on the production and absorptive capacities of the colonial economy on the one hand, and on the colonial political objectives on the other." (ibid:556)

According to Fewzi, the question of higher education must have been recognised by the Colonial Office as the issue had been raised by Africans like Morton, Blyden and the nationalists of the Congress in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. (ibid:80) The delay in the development of higher education in West Africa is attributed, by Channon quoted by Fewzi, to "interrelated causes, at the basis of which was the colonial officials' misconception of higher education." (ibid:115) That is to say, according to Fewzi, "the Colonial government's determination to postpone university development was due to their fear of political and economic consequences resulting from the production of a highly educated class." (ibid:115). This attitude was responsible for both lack of finance and of adequate staff, which as a result impeded the development of university education.

It is useful to summarize three reasons given by Fewzi for the difficulties in implementing the educational adaptation recommended by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Education Committees. Firstly, the existence of an enormous variety of local languages and dialects of the same language, with a shortage of teachers, created difficulty in the production of textbooks. (ibid:59) Secondly, the reluctance of the external examining bodies to adapt the examinations to suit local conditions led to the curriculum of secondary education being formed on a European model. (ibid:61) Thirdly, in order to get a job, a certificate of western education was required. (ibid:61) With respect to the second point on the external examinations, Fewzi stresses the initiative of the British universities. For example, although Cambridge and London recognised the unsuitability of the external examinations to local needs in the mid 1930's and

consequently examinations were partly changed, the general characteristics of the external examinations were not changed even in the early 1940's. Nor did the Colonial Office move to control the external examinations. (ibid: 57-61) The third point is important, yet its empirical basis was not studied by Fewzi who concentrated on policies published in papers. For example, he concludes that there was no connection between government employment and the graduates of Achimota College on the basis of the Report on Achimota College. (ibid:86) However Agbodeka (1977) points out an important connection between the Gold Coast Government and Achimota College as follows. The Science course at Achimota "which was to lead from Matriculation to the London B.Sc. degree in Engineering was in 1931 actually requested by the Gold Coast Government with a promise of providing two scholarships a year to deserving students on the course." (Agbodeka 1977:61) Agbodeka also refers to the Government's intention to employ the graduates. (ibid) Our research supports Agbodeka.

On the question of a future University of West Africa, Fewzi underlines the complex reality of the problem in West Africa in the late 1930's as follows. Firstly, the desire of Africans for external degrees was very strong so that it was difficult to replace the external degrees with local degrees. (Fewzi, 1983:110) Secondly, the four colonies in West Africa lacked a unified vision of higher education. Thirdly, the financial difficulties and the underdeveloped systems of both primary and secondary education could not support the

establishment of a university. (ibid:111)

The explanations given by Fewzi of higher education in the Gold Coast stresses the complexity of the reality and the absence of policies by the Colonial office and local government, rather than the implementation of positive policies which were to shape the higher education in the Gold Coast as far as the period before 1940 is concerned. In this sense, his thesis quoted at the beginning is weak. However, Fewzi's emphasis on the British universities' influence on external examinations independent of the local government stance is important for our enquiry. Our object is to make clear the relationship between Achimota College, the ULCE and government employment.

So far we have attempted to understand the disparity between the adaptation policy recommended by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies and the academic nature of the secondary education. According to Brown (1964), the recommendation was made by a group of people who did not perceive the contemporary situation in the Gold Coast. Foster (1965) stressed Africans' role in creating academic type schools for employment prospects and for achieving parity with Europeans. According to Fewzi (1983), the difficulties in implementing the educational adaptation resided in the existence of different local languages, in the influence of external examinations, and in employment prospects which required a certificate of western education. Thus, the existing

literature reveals the impracticability of the recommended adaptation policy in reality, and the demand for academic study by Africans. Although Fewzi discussed the importance of external examinations as a determinant factor for academic education, on the whole the relationship between academic education and employment has not been properly examined in the literature.

The establishment of Achimota College needs to be considered in the context of the development of the Gold Coast economy and also in relation to the University of London Colonial Examinations. There is no doubt that the ULCE were in the minds of educationists when instituting a University Class at Achimota College.

In the following section, the general political, economic and educational development will be described with special reference to the development of higher education in this wider context.

3. General Background

3-i Political and Economic Context

The Gold Coast's first contact with Europe was in the 15th century with the Portuguese who were searching for gold, and later with the Dutch in the 16th century. English trade began in the 17th century with the export of Gold Coast slaves to the West Indian sugar plantations. Sweden, Denmark, France and Brandenburg also became trade competitors

until Denmark, England and Holland acquired an ascendancy at the end of the 17th century. (Dickson, 1969:40-46) These European countries built forts along the coast for trading purposes and as conduits for the Atlantic slave trade which was to continue from the 16th to the early 19th century. These forts were designed for trade and commerce and not for territorial conquest. The forts gradually disappeared with the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

Although formal British rule was established in 1821, the Gold Coast's precise position within the British Empire remained unsettled as the Ashanti Kingdom, situated between the trade routes of the Western Sudan and the coast, gained in strength as a commercial centre. The intermittent wars through the 19th century both within Ashanti and with Britain weakened the Ashanti power and in 1901 Ashanti was formally annexed to the British Crown. The Northern Territories became a British Protectorate in 1901. A portion of the former German colony of Togoland came under British mandate in 1922. (Colonial Report: the Gold Coast for 1938-39, No.1919:5-6)

The political settlement partly accounted for a substantial increase of revenue over expenditure in 1899. The British administration began its penetration into the interior with the construction of roads and railways, though initially the railways were confined to the Southern part and Ashanti. The expansion of trade especially after the first world war enabled the Gold Coast to develop a long term programme for

the development of the Colony which led to a further expansion in trade and in welfare. The Governor, Sir Frederick Guggisberg, proposed a Ten-Year Development Programme to begin in 1920. (Guggisberg, 1927) In this initial plan, the development of transport communications, namely, harbours, railways and roads was stressed and 71.4% of the total expenditure of £24,611,000 was allocated to such works. 20.9% was to be devoted to public health, water supply, drainage, and hydro-electric works. General development of the colony - the construction of public buildings, town improvements, telegraphs and telephones, and survey of maps - was to receive 7.7%. The budget for education development was included in the 7.7%. A detailed analysis of this educational expenditure will be given in the following section. It is sufficient to say here that expenditure on education increased 39 times between 1900 and 1939, whilst revenue and expenditure during the same period increased almost 9 and 11 times respectively.³ It would appear therefore that much attention was paid to education and the basis for higher education was laid in the 1920's.

The continuous increase in expenditure on the Colony's development points to an increase of people engaged in this area. For example, the expansion of the Civil Service over the relevant periods clearly reveals this. The number of senior government servants increased from 114 in 1898 to 925 in 1931, to 1446 in 1948, and to 2846 in 1953. (The Gold Coast Civil Service List, 1898 and 1931. Staff List of 1948-49 and 1953-54). The number of African staff increased from

2 in 1898 to 732 in 1953-54, which were 1.8% and 25.7% of the total numbers respectively.⁴

However despite a long term development plan for the Gold Coast and the expansion of civil servant numbers, the characteristics of the Gold Coast economy did not change from the time of the abolition of slavery until 1939. That is to say, the Gold Coast imported manufactured goods and exported raw materials. This characteristic limited the range of available jobs. With this in mind, the development of the education system will be briefly outlined in the following section.

3-ii Development of Education

In this section, the position of the University of London Colonial Examinations, in the context of the development of education in the Gold Coast will be outlined. Educational problems not immediately related to this central theme will only be touched upon.

The development of the educational systems in the Gold Coast prior to 1900 can be roughly described in three stages: private education at forts, missionary education, and general education paid for by public funds. The following is a brief account of the three stages.

Education in a European sense began with European contacts at the forts. According to Graham, the first known school in the gold Coast was at Elmina and was established by the Portuguese to christianize the Africans in the 16th century.

(Graham, 1971:2) The Royal African Company at Cape Coast Castle began a school to serve its commercial and trade needs in 1694. (ibid) Africans were also sent to Europe for their education from the early period. (ibid:7) Education in a broader sense began in the middle of the 18th century. (ibid:13-14) Missionary bodies such as the Basel Mission and the Wesleyan church set up schools outside the castles in the early 19th century. (Southon, 1934) On the whole, schooling at the mission schools was centred on the Bible, Catechisms and hymn-books. (Scott, 1938:712)

The British government expressed its first interest in education in the Gold Coast in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵ In 1841 the British Parliament appointed Dr. Madden as commissioner to investigate amongst other things the state of missionary education in West Africa and to make recommendations for its improvement. In the second half of the 19th century, the government attempted to organise education through the passing of Ordinances in 1852, 1877 and 1882. The basis of modern education in the Gold Coast was laid by the Education Ordinance of 1887, whose primary object was to encourage the spread of English throughout the Colony (Board of Education, Vol.13, p.5-6, in 1905 Cd. 2378, XXVI,1) This Ordinance stipulated a Board of Education as the central authority which was to make, amend or revoke all rules necessary for the more effectual carrying out of the provisions of this Ordinance with the Governor's sanction, such as the inspection of schools and teachers, the capitation grants, grant -in-aid to schools and religious

instruction. (ibid:10) Primary schools were divided into two categories: Government schools entirely maintained from the Colony's funds and assisted schools only partly assisted from the public funds. (ibid) To allocate funds, the Education Department with a Director of Education was established as the administrative part of the Board of Education. This organisation of the education system in the second half of the nineteenth century paralleled the organisation in other colonies, as was previously mentioned. Partly as a consequence of this grant, the number of missionary schools increased in the second half of the 19th century. The number of school children enrolled also increased from 6,666 in 1892 to 12,018 in 1901, e.g. from 0.06% of the population in 1891 to 1.3% of the population respectively.⁶ (Report on the Census for the Year 1901 (of the Gold Coast Colony):pp.11-12)

However the existence of non-assisted schools is noteworthy. The number of non-assisted schools in 1901 was about 150, as against 127 of the assisted schools and 7 of the government schools (ibid:11). This indicates that there was a strong demand for European education prior to 1900. Although industrial and technical education was provided at a government technical school in Accra, post-primary education was limited.

By 1939, the number of schools increased to 820 and pupils increased to 77,189 as the following table 5.1 shows. The number of non-assisted schools continued to increase. The table also shows that fewer girls attended non-assisted schools.

Table 5.1 Primary schools and pupils on roll in 1939

Type of School	Number of Schools	Number of pupils on roll in Average Attendance		
		Boys	Girls	Total
Government	20	4,423	1,453	5,876
Assisted	419	37,636	12,884	50,520
Non-assisted	381	17,096	3,697	20,793
Total	820	59,155	18,034	77,189

Source: Blue Book for Gold Coast for 1939, pp.117-118.

Post primary education also developed together with primary education in this period, although the rate of increase was small in comparison with primary education. According to Graham, the government technical school in Accra provided courses in Engineering, Motor Mechanics and Building Construction which met the needs of Government Departments or firms, and external examinations such as the intermediate technological examinations of the London and Guilds Institute were instituted. (Graham, 1971:158-164) Agriculture was also taught in a farm attached to a school where students acquired practical experience by growing food. The increasing number of students necessitated the training of teachers. Future teachers were trained either at individual missionary teacher training schools⁷ or at the teacher training department of Achimota College. In 1939, the number of post primary students totalled 3,120 as the following table 5.2 shows. The number of non-assisted schools and students attending

them exceeded that of the government and assisted schools. This implies that the demand for education was even stronger in secondary education.

Table 5.2: Secondary and other schools and students on roll in 1939

Schools (Type)	Number of Schools	Number of Students on Roll in Average attendance		
		Boys	Girls	Total
Government	4	250	-	250
Assisted	7	1,094	66	1,060
Non-Assisted	19	1,453	257	1,710
Total	30	2,797	323	3,120

Source: Blue Book for Gold Coast for 1939, pp. 119.

The total number of children who enrolled at schools was 2.07% of the estimated total population in 1939.⁸ This figure shows that although the number of children who attended schools increased since 1888, those who received any kind of formal education were still a tiny minority. The number of secondary schools whose pupils could prepare for the examinations of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations was even lower. For example, the total number of candidates who took the junior and senior examinations of the UCLE was 588 in 1939 (Appendix 6 - Table 6.2). Achimota was the only college which provided a form of university education and prepared students for the University of London External Examinations. In 1938, 32 students were enrolled

for the University Department at Achimota. (Achimota College Report, 1939:p.42)

As we have seen previously, major education policies in the colonies, were issued in the 1920's by the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and recommendations by the Committee emphasised that education should be related to the daily life of Africans. The Gold Coast government attempted to re-organize the education system from the early 1920's and the establishment of Achimota College became the centre of the project. The result of the re-organization was that, following the British education system, the external examinations of the Universities of Cambridge and London were adopted. On the establishment of Achimota College, three factors are particularly important: first, the expansion of the Gold Coast economy in the 1910's and 1920's which created jobs for Africans and at the same time allowed money to be spent on education, second, the personal enthusiasm of the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg,⁹ and the first principal, Alexander Fraser¹⁰ who shaped Achimota College, third, the attention paid to the subject by external organisations such as the Phelps Stokes Commission which inspired the review of the existing education system in the Gold Coast. The following is a brief description of the establishment of Achimota College, that is to say, how the idea of the College came into being and the part played by the ULCE in its development.

3-iii Achimota College

Prince of Wales College and School, Achimota, namely, Achimota College was officially opened in 1927 to

"provide a course of education from the kinder-garten to the intermediate university stage, and aimed at completing the degree course, with special attention to training in character." (Achimota College Report, 1932, par. 27)

The object of the College reflected the educational ideas of Governor Guggisberg and the first principal, Alexander Fraser. However, two factors were to have an important bearing on the establishment of Achimota College. One was the proposal of the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford in 1918 and the other was the African Education Commission in 1920 sent out under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund and the Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe.

According to W. Ward (1965), it was the Governor Sir Hugh Clifford¹¹ who for the first time publicly proposed the improvement of education in the Gold Coast in 1918. He announced targets: (a) primary education for every African boy and girl, (b) a training college for teachers in every province, (c) better salaries for teachers, and (d) ultimately, a 'Royal College'. (Ward, 1965:165) This proposal with its stress on primary education and teacher training and its projected Royal College for the education of future civil servants reflected a pattern pursued also in Mauritius and Ceylon.

In the report by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1922, which was supported by various Christian societies in the United

States and the European Governments which had sponsored educational work in Africa, the following points were stressed: (1) the necessity of differentiating three educational needs: firstly, the training of teachers and leaders for the mass, secondly, universal education, thirdly, professional education of doctors and lawyers; (2) education to be determined by the people's needs, namely, health, agricultural techniques, domestic crafts, vocational training, character development, and community responsibility; (3) funding of an extensive school system; (4) improvement of teachers' status and pay; (5) greater emphasis on female education; (6) schools as centres for transmission of higher standards of health and agriculture; (7) expansion of employment in the Government Departments such as Agriculture, Health, and Public Works; (8) more cooperation between government and commercial and industrial agencies, and the missions and government. (Jones, 1922)

The recommendation by the Phelps-Stokes Commission of different types of education, i.e. general education, teacher training, and training for the medical and legal professions paralleled Governor Clifford's proposal. But the Commission's perspective, namely, education as a means of developing the country, is expressed in its emphasis on the close connection between education and community, and education and employment.

The criticisms made by Governor Clifford and the recommendation by the Phelps-Stokes Commission were not

irrelevant to the improved economic situation towards the end of the 1910's. Revenue had grown steadily since the Internal War had ceased around 1900. There was an especially high surplus revenue in 1919 at the end of the First World War.¹² The development of the colony paralleled the expansion of the Government Departments, and trade and commerce. As it was practically impossible to supply the needs of the expanding labour market with Europeans, it became necessary to employ adequately educated Africans.

Although Governor Clifford proposed the development of higher education in 1918 this was not yet realized when he took the governorship of Nigeria in 1919. In 1920 at the time of a visit by the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the Educationists' Committee was appointed by the Governor Guggisberg, Clifford's successor, to survey the whole field of educational activities. The Committee recommended the formation of three institutions: a secondary school, a new Government training college for male teachers to replace the existing buildings of the College, and a training college for women teachers. (Ward, 1965:163)

A second Education Committee was appointed in 1922 to consider education further. This Committee proposed a plan whereby Achimota school was to provide general secondary education, teacher training, and technical education for male students, a plan which had the strong support of the Governor. (ibid:165) Girls' education, which had been recommended by the 1920 Educationists' Committee, was left to

be considered later. The Committee also suggested that Achimota staff be appointed by Government rather than by missions as the Committee hoped that a non sectarian boarding school would nurture an open mind and a wider outlook. (ibid:165)

Achimota College was structured in accordance with the 1922 Committee's proposal although Guggisberg did not support the segregation of girls at Achimota. (Guggisberg, 1924:38-41)

Governor Guggisberg explains in The Keystone (1924) why the Gold Coast needed Achimota College. The following is an explanation in Guggisberg's words of the situation of the Gold Coast in the early 1920's:

"apart from personal desire for a better education, the future of the country demands it,

- i) concerning Government Service, the development of the contry is progressing so rapidly that we can no longer afford the proportionately larger number of Europeans required to deal with the work, for their long leave, their steamer-passages, and the higher rates of salary due to their employment,
- ii) Government has definitely adopted the policy of employing Africans in appointments hitherto held by Europeans provided that the former are equally qualified in education, ability, and character, but progress in carrying out this policy is slow owing to the scarcity of suitably qualified Africans,
- iii) the need of the European firms - mercantile, banking, and professional - is considered, it is apparent that there is a great field for the employment of well-educated Africans throughout the country,
- iv) the demand of the educated Africans of the existing literate classes for an education and training that will fit him to take a greater share in the development of his own land."

(Guggisberg, 1924:5)

The above quotation indicates that Guggisberg had in mind the

taking over of Europeans' held positions by well educated Africans. In his view, what the Gold Coast needed was a system of general education which would form a public spirited individual and provide a vocational education. The defects of the existing education system were a shortage of adequate teachers and the absence of character-training.¹³ The task of the Achimota College was both to train character and to supply intellectual leadership, in the professions, or in industry.

According to Guggisberg's educational ideal, Achimota College was also a part of the re-organization of the educational system in the Gold Coast. The College was to be not only the stepping stone to the university, but a centre for the teacher-training and technical schools which in turn fed into Government Departments. For example, students from local trade schools were to proceed to the Central Technical School and Achimota College as well as railway workshops and Public Works Departments. The Gold Coast Hospital which had been established in 1921 was conceived as the core of a complete training system for African physicians, surgeons, health officers, nurses and midwives, pharmacists and sanitary inspectors. (ibid:49) As a preliminary course medical students would receive special instruction during the last years at Achimota College, and proceed to the medical school attached to the Gold Coast Hospital. Guggisberg suggested that students should be sent for further studies to England under the auspices of the General Medical Council, the British universities, and the Gold Coast Government.

Guggisberg held the view that Africans should be educated locally, but in practice, because the number of potential university students was so small at that time (ibid:26) external education systems had to be called in to provide for post secondary education until student numbers increased. He also opted for English as the common language because the Gold Coast had "no general written literature of its own and its languages were diverse and numerous." (ibid:20)

Alexander Fraser, the first principal of Achimota College, also made his acceptance of the principalship subject to certain conditions which were to shape the later management of Achimota: (i) Aggrey must be appointed as Vice-Principal, or at least to a senior post¹⁴ ; (ii) no residential segregation or other form of colour-ban in Achimota; (iii) Achimota not to be under the control of the Gold Coast Education Department; (iv) Fraser to have a free hand in selecting his own staff; (v) Achimota to be Christian, and the Principal to have a free-hand in the matter of religion; (vi) it must be co-educational; (vii) it must have its own primary and infant departments. (Ward, 1965:170)

(i) and (ii) were not discussed in the previous Committees but exemplify Fraser's position on the education of Africans. (iii), (iv) and (v) were notable as Achimota College was partly a Government College and its staff was appointed by the Colonial Office as the Government Officer. (vi) and (vii) were in opposition to the 1922 Committee's proposals.

Guggisberg who had similar views to Fraser on education accepted the conditions with slight modifications.

Previously we have seen that the arguments about the Gold Coast education had been focused on who determined Gold Coast education, namely, on whether it was the British or the Africans. A brief description of the establishment of Achimota College suggests that the characteristics of Achimota College during its first 10 years reflected Fraser's beliefs and has several implications in terms of educational development in the Gold Coast.¹⁵ The aims Achimota pursued under Fraser were those the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Education Committee of the Colonial Office had advocated. For example, the emphasis on agriculture, arts and craft, native languages and character training were in accord with the recommendations.

However, the education in Achimota was designed on the model of the English public schools, which Fraser believed to be the best. Above all, Achimota contributed to the creation of an English type educational system in the Gold Coast, especially in higher education. The concentration of money and courses in higher education in Achimota created a difference among secondary schools. For example, Achimota was the only teacher training school in the Gold Coast which provided the 4 year training course for the government schools in the 1930's. (Agbodeka, 1977:97) It is important to note that these characteristics of Achimota were partly related to the introduction of the ULCE, which was accepted

without much dispute as a part of the College aims.

On the whole, the policy on Achimota College was designed not to develop mass education but to produce a small elite equipped with the English public school ethos.

Previously we have also seen that English education was related to employment in the modern sector. In the following section the role of the ULCE will be looked at in relation to employment and education, namely, government employment and Achimota College.

4. The Development and Consequences of the University of London Colonial Examinations

4-i Introduction

In a country under colonial rule like the Gold Coast, where modernization occurred unevenly and abruptly with no connection with the existing traditional customs, professional qualifications had to be obtained either directly in advanced countries or by the setting up of qualifying standards locally. External examinations such as the University of London Colonial Examinations were reliable and valid because examinations were identical for both English students and non-English students and convenient because West African students could sit for the examinations in the Gold Coast.

As we have seen, the ULCE were introduced, as a matter of course, at Achimota whose establishment was a part of a wider

movement when education in tropical Africa began to attract attention. Although the development of the ULCE in the Gold Coast was notable only from 1930, there was a relationship between certain types of occupation and Achimota College and the University of London qualifications. In order to examine the role of the ULCE, firstly the development of the ULCE in the Gold Coast in relation to the University of London will be described. Secondly, with respect to employment in the government service, the role of the ULCE will be examined in comparison with other qualifications such as the University of Cambridge Local Examinations or qualifications obtained in England. Finally the consequences of the ULCE will be discussed.

4-ii The Development of the ULCE, 1900-1939

As the table listing Gold Coast candidates for the University of London Colonial Examinations shows (Appendix 6 - Table 6.1) the first candidate sat the Matriculation examination in 1906. From 1906 to 1939, the total number of candidates was not large except for the Matriculation examinations.

The pass rate in the 1920's is on average 28%. The pass rate for the Matriculation between 1900 and 1939 is 21.9%. If we compare this with that of Mauritius (44.4%) and Ceylon (44.4%) in the same period, the pass rate in the Gold Coast is rather low.

The following table 5.3 shows the number of candidates and

successful candidates every decade between 1900 and 1939.

Table 5.3: Candidates and successful candidates for the ULCE, 1900-1939

	1900-1909		1910-1919		1920-1929		1930-1939		1900-1939	
	Cand. No.	Passed	Cand No.	Passed	Cand No.	Passed	Cand No.	Passed	Cand No.	Passed
Matriculation	1	0	3	0	42	11	233	50	279	61
Intermediate			1	1	7	2	(1) 59		(1) 62	
Degree					1	1	(4) 18		(4) 19	
Diploma/Profic.							(1) 2		(1) 2	
First Medicine							4		4	
Total	1	0	4	1	50	14	(6) 133		(6) 148	

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Note: Candidate Numbers for the 1930s are not obtainable except Matriculation.
 Numbers in brackets show the number of successful candidates who passed a part of the entire examination.
 The number in brackets is not included in the total number.

The first successful Gold Coast candidate passed Intermediate Laws in 1915. The ULCE before 1921 were taken irregularly and privately. Until 1929 when Achimota College opened the university class, thirteen out of fifteen successful candidates had studied privately. The other two successful candidates had studied at Richmond College, Cape Coast. The first graduate BA Degree in History, was conferred in 1929. This candidate had also studied privately.

From 1930, the University of London Colonial Examinations took place in an organized way, as we shall see in the case

of Ceylon from the 1900's onwards. The increase in the candidate numbers for the ULCE, especially in Matriculation and Intermediate examinations seems to be related to the establishment of Achimota College. Requests to the Senate of the University of London were made by the Director of Education, Gold Coast and accordingly candidate numbers and the variety of examinations increased after 1930. For example, in 1930, the Senate sanctioned the Intermediate Examinations in Science and in Engineering, including practical work in a number of subjects, being held in the Gold Coast, on the condition that examination supervisors were approved by the University of London. (SM 2506, 1930-31) Following on this approval, Intermediate Engineering, Intermediate Science, and BSc (Engineering) were taken after 1933. Although the candidate numbers are not available in the 1930's, the number of the BSc (Engineering) graduates (4) is very small in comparison with the number of BSc and BSc (Engineering) graduates (386) in Ceylon. This is attributable to the facilities for science course. For example, in Ceylon, the University of London approved the facilities for science course and science examinations started in 1907. It is also reasonable to assume that the need of African professionals were not so conspicuous until the 1920's and 1930's.

Requests to the University of London after 1930 for modifications of the Colonial Examinations in order to meet the requirements of students in the Gold Coast show that the Colonial Examinations were becoming a part of the education system in the Gold Coast. The Colonial Examinations were also

expected to be a means of offering opportunities for further studies in England.

At the same time, the Senate of the University of London considered the requested modifications not only for the Gold Coast candidates but for candidates in the whole of West Africa, as the following cases show. In 1931 an application for a modification of the Botany syllabus for the Matriculation was approved. (SM 2652, 1931-32) A letter of 1935 to the Principal from Sir James Currie, written on behalf of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office on Education in the Colonies, shows the situation well. (Appendix M & S.E.C. to SM, 1935) This was to request the University of London to adapt the Matriculation regulations to the needs of African countries such as Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The requests were as follows:

1. Candidates in West Africa should be exempted, under certain conditions, from offering a second language as qualification for entry to the University of London professional courses, as English is a foreign language.
2. The English paper should be modified by the inclusion of essay topics related to local experience, by testing candidates' general understanding of the subject matter and by testing ability to read intelligently simple and straightforward description in prose and verse.
3. An alternative syllabus related to West Africa should be designed for Geography.
4. The subject General Physics should be added to the list of Science subjects. The syllabus should include

questions on Mechanics, Heat, Light, Sound, Electricity and Magnetism.

(Appendix M & S.E.C. to SM 1935)

As Currie stressed in the letter, the idea behind these requests was not to change the content of University teaching but to avoid placing unnecessary burdens on the students, so that students could have more time for relevant subjects. The Council for External Examinations which was consulted to discuss the requests asserted that "a text on the lines suggested might be sounder for the purpose of admission of West African students than the existing tests." (SM, 1514, 1935-36) The Council thought that it would be preferable on educational grounds if West African candidates were examined in some other subjects rather than offering their own vernacular languages as a second language. Following the recommendation of the Council, the proposals for the adaptation of the Matriculation Examination to meet the requirements of students in West Africa, as outlined by Sir James Currie were generally approved. (SMM 1515, 1935-36: 2626, 1936-37).

A substantial increase was seen however only in the number of candidates for the Matriculation Examinations from 42 between 1920 and 1929, to 233 between 1930 and 1939. The total number of degrees gained between 1930 and 1939 remained small (18), consisting of 13 BA, 4BSc (4 other candidates passed in Part I only), and 1 BD. Aside from degrees, 1 candidate gained the Diploma in Theology, 1 passed in Proficiency of Religious Knowledge and 4 passed the First Medical Examination.

The following table 5.4 shows previous education by the successful candidates between 1900 and 1939. The table shows that in the 1930's, 47 out of 133, or 35.3% studied at Achimota College. With respect to the subject, Arts candidates show an irregular pattern. For example, at the Intermediate examinations, the number of Achimota students is 23 while the number of private students is 13, however at the BA examinations, the number of Achimota students is 3 while the number of private students is 9. At the Engineering examinations, the Achimota students predominated, 7 out of 10 at the Intermediate, and 4 out of 4 at the BSc Engineering.

This shows that formal schooling with proper equipment was advantageous for science.

4-iii The Role of the University of London Colonial Examination with Respect to Government Service

As we have seen previously, the number of African senior government servants listed in Civil Lists increased from 2 in 1898 to 732 in 1953-54. By 1953, African staff were employed in almost all the departments. The increase was especially marked in Ministerial Accountancy, Agriculture, Education, Medical, Post and Tele-communications, and Public Works Departments. It is our concern where and how these African civil servants were educated, what qualifications they had, and whether there were any relations between employment in the government service and the ULCE.

Table 5.4: Previous education of successful candidates, 1900-1939

		1900 - 1929	1930 - 1939	Not clear	Total
Matriculation	Achimota		5		61
	Other-Private	11	45		
Intermediate Arts	Achimota		23		38
	Other-Private	2	13		
Intermediate Science	Achimota	-	3	2	10
	Other-Private		5		
Intermediate Engineering	Achimota		7	3	10
	Other-Private				
Intermediate Economics	Achimota		3		3
	Other-Private				
Intermediate Commerce	Achimota		0(+1)		0(+1)
	Other-Private				
Intermediate Laws	Achimota	1			1
	Other-Private				
BA	Achimota		3	1	14
	Other-Private	1	9		
BD	Achimota			1	1
	Other-Private				
BSc Engineering	Achimota		4(+4)		4(+4)
	Other-Private				
First Exam for Medical Degree	Achimota		2	2	4
	Other-Private				
Diploma in Theology Prof. in Rel. knowledge	Achimota		2(+1)		2(+1)
	Other-Private				
Sub-total	Achimota		47(+4)		47(+4)
	Other-private	15	77(+2)		92(+2)
Total		15	124(+6)	9	148(+6)

Total of Achimota students 147 (+4)

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41

Note: Figures in brackets show the number of successful candidates who passed a part of the entire examination.

Unlike Mauritius and Ceylon, Civil Lists of the Gold Coast which are obtainable in the British Library are limited. After the Civil List of 1931, the next available Civil List is that of 1948. Accordingly, instead of checking the lists every 10 years as we have done for Mauritius and Ceylon, we have checked the Civil List of 1931, 1948 and 1953. In fact, as the number of successful candidates in the Gold Coast only increased in the 1930's, the Lists of 1948 and 1953 will give a reasonable view on employment.

4-iii-1 Government Service and Graduates

The following table 5.5 shows the number of those who obtained their degrees and professional qualifications such as Law and Medicine in various institutions between 1900 and 1939 and the number of those who appeared in the Civil Lists of 1931 and 1948 and 1953.

Among 19 who obtained degrees through the ULCE between 1900 and 1939 (excluding the number of those who passed the First Medical), 10 entered the government service. Although the total number of graduates is small, the figure shows that the percentage of the BSc graduates who entered the government service is higher than that of the BA graduates.

The number of government servants who obtained their degrees or professional qualifications in England (internal students) is shown in the same table.

Table 5.5: Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications in the Civil Lists, 1948 and 1953

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eng)	BSc(Com)	BSc(Agri)	PPE	Post Grad	Total
<u>External</u>										
<u>London: 1900-1939</u>										
Graduate Number	14		1		4					19
Government Servant	7		0		3					10
<u>Internal</u>										
<u>London Univ. Coll: 1900-1931</u>										
Graduate number	2	1					1		2	6
Government Servant	0						1			1
<u>Oxford: 1900-1939</u>										
Graduate Number	1							3		4
Government Servant	1									1
<u>Gray's Inn:1900-1939</u>										
Number Qualified		3								3
Government Servant										
<u>Lincoln's Inn:1900-1939</u>										
Number Qualified		24								24
Government Servant		2								2
<u>Middle Temple:1900-1939</u>										
Number Qualified		33								33
Government Servant		4								4

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900 - 1940-41; London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41; Minutes of the University College, London, 1900-1931; Civil Service List, The Gold Coast, 1931; Staff List of Senior Appointments, The Gold Coast, 1948-49; Staff List of Administration, Professional, Senior Executive and Senior Technical Appointments, The Gold Coast, 1953-54; University of Oxford, Register of Matriculations, 1900 - 1939-40; Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1901-1930 (Oxford); Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1931-50 (Oxford); Gray's Inn Admissions & Calls etc. 1625-1900, 1901-1945; The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol.III. Admissions from AD 1894 to AD 1956; Bar Book 1893-1905 to 1929-1944; Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Vol.II and III.

- Note 1: Although 6 degrees were obtained at University College, London, the actual number of students is 3 as 1 student took 2 degrees and 1 student took 3 degrees.
2. In all, 19 students studied at University College, London between 1900 and 1931. 3 students without degrees entered the government service.
 3. At the University of Oxford, 7 students were matriculated.
 4. At the 3 Inns of Courts, the following number of students were registered: 34 at Lincoln's Inn, 40 at the Middle Temple, 4 at Gray's Inn.

Out of 6 internal graduates of University College, London between 1900 and 1931, only 1 graduate appeared in the Civil Lists. The proportion of graduates of University College, London, of the University of Oxford and barristers at the three Inns of Courts who entered the government service is low. Between 1900 and 1939, 60 internal students were called to the Bar in England, but only 6 out of 60 entered the government service. In order to explain the remainder of the qualified lawyers, the Report on the Census of Population 1948 Reports and Tables will be used (Table 5.6). According to the 1948 Census Report, 57 people were listed under the heading of 'Judges, Barristers, Solicitors' (Census of Population 1948 Report and Tables: The Gold Coast: p.392) separated from the heading of 'Civil Service'. Out of 57, 18 were wage earners and 39 were self-employed. Although there is a 10 year gap between the number of 60 recorded for the period of 1900 and 1939, and the number of 57 in 1948, it seems to be reasonable to conclude that the majority of the qualified lawyers worked in the private sector, above all they worked for themselves rather than as government servants.

With respect to medicine, 4 students passed the first examination for the Medical Degree of the ULCE before 1939. Only one out of four was employed by the government in 1945. On the other hand, 7 medical doctors including surgeons, veterinary surgeons, and physicians were employed before 1939, according to the Senior Staff Lists. Accordingly, 6 medical doctors employed as civil servants seem to have qualified abroad. If we compare this number with that of

Ceylon, 265 were listed with medical qualifications in the Ceylon Civil List of 1953. According to the Staff List: The Gold Coast of 1953-54, the majority of the medical staff was still European (145) and the number of African staff including administrators was 67. This implies that on the one hand fewer West African doctors were produced and on the other hand European doctors were available in the Gold Coast while it is said that European doctors were not available in Ceylon. Apart from these 7 doctors, 38 doctors were enumerated in the 1948 Census Report. (ibid). Thus the majority of medical doctors also worked in the private sector.

This suggests that the University of London Colonial Examinations did not contribute to law or medical professions neither in the government service nor in private sectors.

Table 5.6: Government servants employed before 1939 and qualified lawyers and medical doctors not in the government service (1948 Census Report)

	Before 1939			1948 Census Report					
	No.of Gov. Serv.	Qual. by ULCEs	Qual. Abroad	Total occupied & Out of Wk	Wking for Wages	Wking for self	Employ ers	Out of Work	Retired
Lawyers (Judges, Barristers, Solicitors)	1	0	1	57	18	39	-	-	1
Medical doctors	7*	0	7	38	14	22	2	-	-
Dentists	0	0	0	7	2	5	-	-	-
Chemists, Dispensers	0	0	0	231	112	117	2	-	1

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.

London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Gold Coast Staff List of Administrative, Professional, Senior Executive and Senior Technical Appointments 1953-54.

Census of Population 1948 Report and Tables, Table 27, p.392.

* 7 consists of 1 veterinary surgeon, 3 surgeons and 3 physicians.

4-iii-2 Successful ULCE Candidates and Those entering Government Service

If we extend the number of government servants to include all the qualifications of the ULCE such as Matriculation, Intermediates and Diplomas, 52 successful candidates out of 148 or 34.5% appeared in the staff lists of 1931, 1948-49 and 1953-54 (Table 5.7). The proportion of the number of successful candidates who entered the government service of the total number of successful candidates increases from 27.9% for the Matriculation, to 38.7% for the Intermediates, and to 52.6% for the Degrees. Although degrees are most advantageous, Matriculation or Intermediates also seem to be useful for government employment.

Table 5.7: Government servants in 1931, 1948 and 1953 lists who passed any type of ULCE, 1900-1939

	Matri.	Inter.	Degree	Dip/Prof.	1st Med.	Total
Successful Cand	61	(1) 62	(4) 19	(1) 2	4	(6) 148
Gov. Servants	17	(1) 24	(4) 10	0	1	(5) 52
	27.9%	38.7%	52.6%			34.5%

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Civil Service List 1931
Staff List of Senior Appointments 1948-49
Staff List of Administration, Professional, Senior Executive
and Senior Technical Appointments, 1953-54.

Note:

1. Numbers in brackets show the number of candidates who passed a part of the examination.
2. The same person appears in different examinations as those who passed degree examinations are likely to have taken Intermediate and Matriculation Examinations. The real number who entered the government service is 37 (including the number of candidates who passed a part of the examinations).

We will now compare qualifications of the government servants listed in the 1953 Civil List.

According to the Staff List of Administrative, Professional, Senior Executive and Technical Appointments in 1953-54, out of 460 who were in the List and also employed before 1939, 26 had degrees or professional qualifications in medicine. The following table shows the degree subjects of the qualifications of the 26 staff. The table shows that the number of the staff who obtained degrees of the University of London is very small, 3 out of 26. This is because only 19 received degrees from the University of London (external) between 1921 and 1931.

Table 5.8: Qualifications of African staff listed in the Staff List of 1953-54 and initially employed before 1939

	B A	LLB	BSc	BSc(Agri)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Medicine	Without/ Not clear	Total
	9	1	5	1	1	2	7	434	460
(ULCE)	(2)		(1)						

Source: Staff List of Administration, Professional, Senior Executive and Senior Technical Appointments: The Gold Coast, 1953-54

4-iii-3 Government Service and Employment Qualifications

The analysis of the staff list of 1953-54 has shown that among the staff employed before 1939, the number of graduates was very small. The majority (434 out of 460) held positions without degrees or professional qualifications. We have also seen that the successful candidates at Matriculation and

Intermediates of the ULCE entered the government service as well as the graduates.

According to Colonial Reports, as the following table shows (Colonial Report—Annual, the Gold Coast, 1909-1916) an average of 100 candidates were successful and the number increased from 1914 at two Civil Service examinations which controlled admissions to clerkships in the Government service between 1909 and 1916.

Table 5.9: Successful candidates for clerkships

Year	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Successful Candidates	118	77	115	52	100	143	145	137

Source: Colonial Report: the Gold Coast for 1909-1916.

According to the Colonial Report for 1908, the total nominal role of the five schools, which gave a higher education than that obtainable at the primary schools, was 477. It seems that the students at these post primary schools took the Civil Service Examinations. In this connection, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations will now be briefly examined.

4-iii-4 University of Cambridge Local Examinations

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations began in the Gold Coast in 1910 (See Appendix 6 - Table 6.2). The candidate numbers were irregular before 1918 but steadily

increased after 1919 and considerably increased after 1932 when the candidate number for the London Matriculation also began to increase as the table 5.10 shows. The candidate numbers and successful candidate numbers for the UCLE between 1900 and 1939 were considerably more than for the equivalent the University of London Colonial Examinations. The candidate numbers and successful candidate numbers for the Senior Examinations of the UCLE between 1900 and 1939 were 1384 and 783 respectively. Those for the Matriculation Examinations of the ULCE in the same period were 279 and 61 respectively. The total of the successful candidate number, 844 between 1900 and 1939, can be taken as the number of students who obtained qualifications in secondary education. One explanation for the popularity of the UCLE is that students could prepare for the examinations at a much earlier stage. For example, students could take Preliminary Examinations at 14, followed by Junior Examinations at 16 and Senior Examinations at 18. The examination subjects remained the same between Preliminary, Junior and Senior Examinations so that students could study systematically throughout the three grades. Although ULCE were conducted in a similar way to UCLE, the Matriculation Examination was the first ULCE and it offered no advantages unless students intended to graduate. As we have seen previously, there were no universities in the Gold Coast in the period concerned. UCLE would therefore have been the goal for the majority of the secondary students. Further, the candidates for the UCLE would obtain exemption from the Matriculation so that the Senior Examination for the UCLE was valuable in case students wanted to take intermediate

Table 5.10: Candidates and successful candidates at Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations, 1900-1939

Year	Cambridge Senior		London Matriculation		Total	
	Cand	Passed	Cand	Passed	Cand	Passed
1906			1	0	1	0
-						
1910						
1911						
1912						
1913						
1914			2	0	2	0
1915	3	0			3	0
1916	3	0			3	0
1917			1	0	1	0
1918						
1919	11	4			11	4
1920	18	2	1	0	19	2
1921	?	3	1	0	1	3
1922	18	4			18	4
1923	8	2			8	2
1924	10	6	1	0	11	6
1925	19	9	3	1	22	10
1926	21	8	1	0	22	2
1927	18	11	9	3	27	14
1928	25	14	16	7	41	21
1929	25	16	10	0	35	16
1930	34	23	19	3	53	26
1931	36	27	9	2	45	29
1932	70	46	11	0	81	46
1933	98	59	16	4	114	63
1934	93	43	19	6	112	49
1935	113	65	26	7	139	72
1936	135	84	37	7	172	91
1937	180	106	30	5	210	111
1938	184	83	33	7	217	90
1939	262	168	33	9	295	177
Total	(1384)	783	279	61	(1663)	844

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Reports and Tables, 1900-1904.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Papers, Class Lists, Reports 1900-1939.

examinations for the ULCE. According to the Colonial Reports-Annual, 1927-1928, the curriculum was based on the requirements of the Cambridge School Certificate at Mfantsipim of the Wesleyan Mission and St. Nicholas' Grammar

School of the English Church Mission, which were the only assisted secondary schools apart from the Achimota College in the Gold Coast. (Colonial Report-Annual: Gold Coast for 1927-28, No.1418: p.35)

Apart from Achimota College and the above secondary schools, a number of Government Departments and the Gold Coast Regiment, maintained schools to meet their special needs. For example, in connection with the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the Agriculture and Forestry Department, two or three years courses were given and students would be appointed as a junior staff of the Department. (Colonial Reports-Annual: the Gold Coast for 1931-32, No.1602:p.48)

4-iii-5 Previous Education and Government Service

Previously we have seen that the majority of the senior staff at the government service began as junior clerks. In this section we will examine the relation between the preparation for the ULCE and the government service.

Out of the 37 ULCE successful candidates who appeared in the Staff List of 1948-49 and 1953-54, 7 out of 37 obtained their higher qualifications through the ULCE after employment in the government service as the following table 5.11 shows. 5 out of 37 obtained degrees while employed, while 8 out of 37 entered the government service after obtaining degrees (including 3 Part One only). This would suggest that the ULCE were not only related to qualifications enabling them to enter the government service, but were also related to

promotion. Even if this was not the case, the ULCE at least offered opportunities for obtaining university degrees while employed.

Table 5.11: Relationship between qualifications and employment for the successful candidates (Staff List 1948-49 and 1953-54)

Order of obtaining qualifications and employment	Number
<u>Employed</u> --> Matriculation	3
<u>Employed</u> --> Intermediate	2
<u>Employed</u> --> Matriculation --> Intermediate --> BA BSc	2
Matriculation --> Employed	7
Matriculation --> <u>Employed</u> --> Intermediate --> BA BSc	1
Matriculation --> Intermediate --> <u>Employed</u>	1
Matriculation --> Intermediate --> <u>Employed</u> --> BA BSc	1
Matriculation --> Intermediate --> BA BSc --> Employed (1)	2
Intermediate --> Employed	10
Intermediate --> <u>Employed</u> --> BA BSc	1
Intermediate --> BA BSc --> Employed	(2) 6
First Medical --> --> Employed	1
Total	(3) 37

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Staff List 1948-49, 1953-54.

Note: Figures in brackets indicate the number of successful candidates who passed part 1 only.

4-iii-6 Achimota, Government Service and the ULCE

The connection between the ULCE and occupational choice must be also looked at in relation to Achimota. For example, 7 out of 10 graduates who were employed in the government service had studied at Achimota College before obtaining external degrees of the University of London. With respect to the BSc

degree, 3 out of 4 BSc graduates were all Achimota students. This was a result of government policy to set up the BSc Engineering course.

According to Agbodeka, the Gold Coast Government asked for an Engineering course to be provided at Achimota in 1931 and promised to offer two scholarships a year with an intention of employing the graduates. (Agbodeka, 1977:61) By 1939 4 students had obtained a BSc Engineering degree and a further 3 students passed Paper I in the BSc Engineering in 1939. Those 7 students all studied at Achimota, while other subjects were studied privately as well as at Achimota College. 6 out of those 7 Engineering students entered the government service. 5 out of the 6 were employed immediately or a few years after passing the examination. This is an example of the relation between the central college, employment and the ULCE.

4-iii-7 Issues of Social Mobility

According to the register of three Inns of Courts, Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, Gray's Inn, between 1900 and 1939, the number of students who came from traditional strata, classified as gentlemen, farmers or chiefs was 8 out of 78 (Table 5.12). Conversely 59 out of 78 students came from families in the modern sector such as civil servants, lawyers, merchants or ministers of the christian church. It is striking that the number of merchants and traders was 27, which was more than any of the other occupational groups. It seems that merchants who had a longer contact with European

culture and language were in a better position in terms of wealth and culture. On the whole, families engaged in traditional occupations were slow to take up education as a means of entering the modern sector. When we consider that only 6 out of 60 qualified lawyers became senior government servants, that half of those who obtained degrees and 34.5% of the total number of successful candidates at the ULCE became government servants and that 12.8% of government servants sent their children to England to study law, it might be reasonable to assume that obtaining a degree through the ULCE and becoming a government servant were seen as the first step to establishment in the modern sector with prestige and income. Thus those in the modern rather than the traditional sector reproduced themselves by social positions in the dominant and powerful professions essential to the modern sector - law.

Table 5.12: Father's occupation of students registered at three Inns of Courts in London, 1900-1939

Fathers' Occupation	Number
Government servants	10
Lawyers (barrister-at-law, solicitor and advocate)	11
Merchants, senior rank at a company	30
Tailor, photographer, editor	4
Religion	4
Gentleman, farmer, paramount chief	8
Unknown	11
TOTAL	78

Source: The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol.III. Admissions from AD 1894 to AD 1956. Bar Book 1893-1905 to 1929-1944.
Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Vol.II, III.
 Gray's Inn Admissions & Calls etc., 1625-1900 and 1901-1945.

Note: Out of 78, 60 were called.

4-iv Summary

The first candidate sat privately the Matriculation examination of the University of London in 1906, but the first successful Gold Coast candidate did not pass until 1915 when the candidate took the Intermediate Laws. The candidate number for the University of London Colonial Examinations between 1906 and 1919 was only 5. It was only in the 1920's that the candidate number began to increase. With the opening of Achimota College in 1929, a more rational basis was available for the administration of the ULCE. There were two reasons for increase in the candidate numbers from the 1920's. The first was clearly connected to the establishment of Achimota College itself as a result of the local pressure for higher education and colonial support. However the second reason for the increase in the candidate number was the result of a request from the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office on the Education of the Colonies to the University of London that students should no longer be requested to sit the second language paper of the Matriculation examination. Thus the Colonial Office can be considered to be very much involved in the increase in the candidate numbers from the 1920's. We should note that the decision to drop the second language was itself not a consequence of the policy of the University of London. This shows the influence of the Colonial Office on the ULCE.

With respect to the development of the educational system in the Gold Coast, the ULCE offered opportunities for study in higher education on a limited scale.

- 1) As a total, 148 passed Matriculation, Intermediates, Diploma, Proficiency, First Examination for Medical Degree and Degrees of the ULCE between 1900 and 1939. However the major increase in the number of successful candidates is seen only in the 1930's, and for both the Matriculation and the Intermediate examinations.
- 2) The pass rate for the Matriculation between 1900 and 1939 (21.9%) is much lower than that of Mauritius (44.4%) and Ceylon (44.4%). The pass rate is also lower than that of the Cambridge Senior Examination between 1915 and 1939 (56.6%). This can be explained by the fact that the secondary schools organised their curriculum on the requirements for the Cambridge Junior and School Certificate examinations while 91.8% of the successful candidates for the London Matriculation examination studied privately.
- 3) With respect to subject, 3 different degrees and 6 Intermediates were available. If we compare the available examinations with that in Mauritius, the scope was relatively larger than in Mauritius.
- 4) The proportion of Achimota successful candidates in the total number of successful candidates is 31.8%, and the proportion of Achimota students varies according to the examinations. For example, at the Matriculation examination Achimota candidates are 5 out of 61 successful candidates, at the Intermediate examination, Achimota candidates are 33 out of 62. Further, 4 BSc (Engineering) graduates are all Achimota students. This can be explained by the arrangement in engineering with

the University of London

- 5) The ULCE also provided opportunities for private students (62.2% of the total number of successful candidates) as well as for Achimota students.

With respect to the relationship between qualifications and government employment, 10 out of 19 graduates of the University of London (external) appeared in the Staff List of 1931, 1948-49 and 1953-54. This proportion of graduates entering the government service is higher than that of the University of Oxford, University College, London or barristers qualified in England. BSc (Engineering) graduates were employed as a matter of government policy.

However, during the period concerned, degrees were not essential to hold a position in the government service, the majority of the government servants started as junior staff. The proportion of government servants among successful candidates increased from 27.9% at the Matriculation, to 38.7% at the Intermediate examinations although the number is small. This suggests that higher qualifications were becoming advantageous for employment in the government service. The ULCE qualifications might also have related to promotion as 5 out of 10 graduates of the University of London (external), who held positions in the government service, obtained their degrees while employed.

With respect to the relationship between Achimota College, government employment and the ULCE, the engineering course at

Achimota gave access to the government service although again the number is very small.

According to the Staff List of 1953-54, the number of African staff was 732 while that of European was 1351. Thus the proportion of African staff among the government servants was still relatively small in 1953. Among the 732 African staff listed in the same Staff List, 460 were initially employed before 1939. Out of the 460 staff, only 26 had higher qualifications. Among 26, only 3 were University of London graduates. Thus, before 1939, the majority of the Africans were employed as junior clerks and the significance of the University of London Colonial Examinations in providing opportunities for careers was small.

If we compare the students who obtained higher qualifications in England with the successful candidates of the ULCE, the majority of internal students took law. 60 students were qualified as barristers in England while only 14 took degrees through the ULCE between 1900 and 1939. This also led to a difference in occupational choice. Barristers worked outside the government service while the graduates of the University of London (external) who entered the government service held positions in education and engineering.

Thus, the increase in the candidate numbers of the University of London Colonial Examinations appears in the 1930's. The effect of the ULCE upon employment and Achimota College was still small. The period between 1900 and 1939 is best

understood as providing a basis for the Special Relation after 1948.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in the Gold Coast between 1900 and 1939 with respect to the development of the education system and government employment.

The Gold Coast was chosen for a different reason from Mauritius and Ceylon. The Gold Coast represents a colony which did not possess a written form of its culture. Whereas in Mauritius the dominant group possessed a European culture. In Ceylon, there were indigenous cultures and traditions different from that of the Europeans, but which had a written form and a well developed intellectual base in the religions of Buddhism and Hinduism.

This difference in culture and tradition was responsible for a different approach to Africans by both European missionaries and British administrators. The following comment on the African will help us to understand the educational concept of the African held by the missionaries and the administrators at the beginning of our period of study. This is taken from a statement in a report (1902) on

"The Educational work of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast: Its method in combining industrial and manual training with other influences indispensable to the formation of the character of the native race".

"Education has always been a difficult problem with regard to the African tribes, considering the degraded

state of minds based upon heathenism and the low state of civilization. The condition of the people to be educated being such it will be universally acknowledged that a mere imparting of knowledge and literacy training will not be sufficient, but that there must be combined with it a training in useful industries, a most energetic influence on the character and a decisive work upon the will of the natives". (Board of Education, Vol.13, p.297 in 1905 Cd.2378, XXVI.1)

In the literature, we have seen a disparity between the adaptation policy recommended by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies and the demand for academic education by Africans. (Brown, 1964) (Foster, 1965) (Fewzi, 1983). Brown argues that the adaptation policy was formed by a group of people who did not perceive the contemporary situation in the Gold Coast. According to Foster, Africans demanded European type education for employment prospects and for achieving parity with Europeans. Fewzi asserts that the delay of the development of higher education was attributable to the fear of political and economic consequences resulting from the production of a highly educated class. Fewzi, at the same time, points out the complexity of the reality which delayed establishment of a University.

The complexity of arguments in the literature arises from the confusion in taking mass education and postprimary education together. As we have shown, education in a European sense began to serve commercial and trade needs in the 16th century. Thus European type education first existed outside the traditional society which retained both its own social structure, and its own recruitment and independent of

European influence. The first pupils at schools were therefore from groups such as the sons of coastal traders and the wealthier merchants of the urban areas, supplemented by the children of clerks in government employment. (Foster, 1965:62) The function of these early schools was therefore to open a new means of mobility outside traditional strata by offering an opportunity to enter new occupations. As a result, schools were mainly established along the coast.

X The function of schools attached (fort) was different from the missionary schools set up in the 19th century which aimed to propagate Christianity. The number of mission schools increased and became a basis for general primary education. The number of non-assisted schools (150) in 1901 against the assisted schools (127) and the government schools (7) shows that there was a strong demand for European education prior to 1900. Contrary to primary education, the development of post primary education was slow.

In the literature, although the recommendations by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies are taken as opposed to the development of post primary education, it was in fact these people, who were involved with the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Advisory Committee, who assisted the development of higher education in the 1920's, when the expansion of the economy and the increase in the number of the government servants necessitated suitably qualified West Africans. For example, Alexander Fraser, the first principal of Achimota

College, was chosen in connection with the Christian missionary association in Britain, and the expansion of the ULCE in the 1930's was partly attributable to a request for modification of the ULCE made by Sir James Currie who wrote to the Principal of the University of London on behalf of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office on Education in the Colonies. Thus, the recommendations by the Advisory Committee cannot be taken only as opposed to the development of post primary education.

As a result of the late development of higher education in the Gold Coast, the effect of the ULCE cannot be assessed fully during the period concerned. However among the successful candidates of the University of London, the proportion of government servants increased from the Matriculation (27.9%), to the Intermediate (38.7%), and to the degree examination (52.6%). This suggests that the University of London qualifications were gradually recognised as qualifications for government employment. However a difference in occupational choice is seen between the University of London graduates (external) and the internal students. The former entered in education and technical positions of the government service while the latter entered law profession outside the government service.

Finally we shall consider the ULCE between 1900 and 1939, especially after the establishment of Achimota College, with respect to providing the basis for the Special Relationship after 1948. The University College of the Gold Coast took

over the post secondary section of Achimota College where courses for the London Intermediate BA and BSc and Final BSc (Engineering), as well as teaching training, continued during the war. (Pattison, 1984:51) According to Pattison, "their 90 students formed the nucleus of the first student body of the new university college" (ibid). Between 1951 and 1963, when the Special Relation ended, 851 graduates in the BA, BSc, BSc (Economics), BSc (Sociology), BSc (Agriculture), and BD were produced at the University College of the Gold Coast which developed into the University of Ghana in 1961. (ibid:69, Appendix 3).

Thus, the experience of the ULCE in the Gold Coast between 1900 and 1939 created the basis for the Special Relationship.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Hampton Institute, Virginia, USA, was founded by Samuel Chapman Armstrong in 1868, followed by a school in Tuskegee, Alabama, USA by Booker T Washington in 1881. These schools aimed to give industrial education for blacks to prepare them for rural communities instead of following western education. This approach to education of blacks inspired American and western missionaries and educationists to work in West Africa in the 1920's and 1930's. (King, 1971:5-10)
2. According to Godfrey N Brown, Du Bois criticized industrial education at Hampton and Tuskegee as industrial education practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the black. "It was Du Bois who went on to play the leading role in founding the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (1909) and in organising a series of Pan-African Congress commencing in 1919." But Du Bois was ignored in the Phelps Stokes Commission Report. (Brown, 1964:369).
3. Expenditure on education was £7.000 in 1900 and £270.000 in 1938. Colonial Report-Annual, The Gold Coast for 1900, p.16:P.P.1902 Cd. 788-14, LXIV, 643.
4. The number of African Staff for 1948-49 is not available.
5. Foster points out the existence of government schools directly financed from public funds in the first half of the 19th century. (Foster, 1965:49).
6. The number of Assisted Schools was 69 in 1892 and 127 in 1901. The grants increased from £1,678 in 1892 to £3,706 in 1901. (Report on the Census for the Year 1901 (of the Gold Coast Colony: P11)
7. Southon states that 109 out of 130 residents at Wesley College Kumasi were being trained as teachers in 1934. (Southon, 1934:152).
8. $80,309 \left(\begin{smallmatrix} 77, & 189 \\ \text{primary} & \text{secondary} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \div 3,873,050 = 0.0207$
estimated total population
(Blue Book for the Gold Cost for 1939:pp.111, 117.118. 119)
9. Brigadier-General Sir Gordon Guggisberg was born on 20th July, 1869 in Toronto, Canada. In 1887 he entered the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, England, and from 1905 held the posts of Director of Surveys in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and later of Public Works in the Gold Coast. In 1919 he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast where his three major achievements were the building of Takoradi Harbour, Korle Bu Hospital and Achimota. Agbodeka, Francis (1977) Achimota in the National Setting, pp.22-24.

also see Williams, C.K. Achimota: The Early Years, 1924-1948, pp.4-5.

10. Alexander Gordon Fraser was born on 6th October, 1873, educated at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Oxford. He became a missionary and served in Uganda and Ceylon before coming to the Gold Coast in 1924. He was the principal of Achimota between 1924 and 1934. Agbodeka, Francis, op.cit. pp.24-27.

also see Williams, C.K., op.cit. p.9.

11. Sir Hugh Clifford was born on 5th March 1866. He administered the Government of Ceylon 1907, 1909, 1911 and 1912. Was Governor of the Gold Coast 1912-19, Governor of Nigeria 1919-25, Governor of Ceylon 1925-27. Dictionary of National Biography, 1941-1950 (ed) Wickham Lagg, L. and Williams, E., 1959:158.
12. The following table shows the balance of revenue and expenditure for the years 1899, 1909, and 1919.

	1899	1909	1919
Revenue	£422,796	£778,551	£2,601,359
Expenditure	309,656	734,367	1,777,570

Source: Colonial Report: The Gold Coast for 1899, 1909, 1919: P.P. 1900 Cd 354-12 LIV 341
 1910 Cd 4964-288 LXIV 373
 1921 Cmd. 1103-9 XXIV 75

The figures do not convey the fluctuations between the years.

13. Character-training for Guggisberg was to develop simple virtues such as perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, thrift, temperance, self-control, obedience, reliability, honesty, and respect for parents, a correct appreciation of responsibility, by daily practice. (Guggisberg, 1924:17)
14. James Emmon Kwegyir Aggrey (18 Oct. 1875 - 27 July 1927). Born at Anomabu in the Gold Coast, educated at the Cape Coast Methodist School, where he later taught for a short while before becoming Secretary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society. He studied at Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina, the USA. He obtained his MA degree at Columbia University in 1922 and in 1923 completed the comprehension examination for his Ph.D. (Agbodeka, 1977:27)

15. Although Fraser and Aggrey with the support of Guggisberg were gradually accepted by Africans, there was a tension between Achimota staff and other British colonists. Ward describes several incidents:

- i) Just after accepting the headship, Fraser criticised the arrogance of the English settlers in Kenya in a sermon in Westminster Abbey.
- ii) Fraser insisted on Aggrey being permitted to live in a white resident quarters despite British Officials' protest when they arrived in the Gold Coast in 1924.
- iii) Unusually Fraser and his staff arrived in the Gold Coast before the official opening of Achimota College. They spent nearly two years and three months in preparation including learning the native language while other officers assumed their duty as soon as they arrived at Gold Coast.
- iv) The relation between Fraser and the Education Department remained a neutral if not hostile one. (Ward, 1965:172-188).

CHAPTER VI

A CASE STUDY - CEYLON

1. Introduction

This chapter and the following chapter will examine the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon between 1900 and 1939. The treatment of Ceylon is necessarily more extensive than the other two case studies. This chapter will examine the ULCE in the development of higher education in Ceylon and the subsequent chapter will examine the relationships between the ULCE graduates, race and employment.

In comparison with other colonies, the education system in Ceylon developed in a relatively early period out of the British reign over Ceylon, which began in 1796. Around 1800, three schools were opened with the aim of providing a supply of educated personnel for the government service. One of them became a government institution called Colombo Academy in 1836 and developed into the Royal College in 1881.¹ The demand for higher education led to the establishment of the University College, Colombo in 1921. Thus, the centre of higher education developed throughout the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century.

External examinations were also introduced at an early stage, viz., the University of Cambridge Local Examinations in 1880 and the University of London Colonial Examinations in 1882. These external examinations were used as a means of selecting

scholars for further studies at British universities and at the same time scholarship schemes were introduced to help to raise the standard of higher education in Ceylon.

As we will see later, during the period concerned, the number of candidates and the kinds of examination papers for the ULCE increased. The rate of expansion of ULCE in Ceylon after 1900 is much higher than in the other colonies. Ceylon was the first to have implemented Science Examinations in the British colonies and one of the few colonies where Medical Examinations were available up to the first part of the Second Medical Examination. Ceylon also introduced the languages of the colonial people, e.g. languages of South India and Ceylon as examination subjects. These languages were also adopted as course subjects at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Between 1900 and 1939, 967 students obtained degrees externally. However the most important contribution of the ULCE in Ceylon was that the experience led to the establishment of the University of Ceylon, Colombo in 1942. The procedure by which it was granted the full status of a university under the auspices of the University of London was the same in principle as that adopted for other British universities before World War II, and the same procedure became a precedent for the Special Relation between the University of London and Commonwealth University Colleges, which were implemented between the 1940's and 1960's.

Many books, PhD theses and articles have been written on

education in Sri Lanka. The predominant view among scholars on the development of education in Ceylon is as follows. The British administration gradually changed Ceylon's traditional social system. Under British rule, individual ability was regarded as more important than caste and kinship. Consequently, those who possessed English education, especially, Burghers, Eurasians and Tamils were disproportionately employed by the government. Although the number of civil servants increased, as a general tendency, Ceylonese were excluded from positions of power and responsibility. This was largely attributable to the absence of university education.

The above summary presents two features: first, the impact of British rule and control over the higher education by the British authority, which delayed the Ceylonization of the civil service, second, the consequences of disproportionate representation of certain races in government service.

Thus, much of the existing literature is not only confined to a description of the development of education but also relates education to race and employment. The theme of this thesis, viz., the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations is only partially touched upon in the existing studies. The implications of the external examinations, e.g., the ULCE, have not as yet been properly examined. This failure to grasp the role of the external examinations results in the vagueness of the definitions of the new elite. For example, Fernando, defining the new elite, speaks of "an

education up to the "Cambridge Senior" as the minimum educational background required of aspirants to elite positions." (Fernando, 1968:21). It follows that all successful candidates in the ULCE including Matriculation were eligible for membership of the new elite as the London Matriculation was regarded as equivalent to the Cambridge Senior. However Fernando further qualifies the definition of the new elite used in his thesis when he says that "the new elite was composed of those, who by virtue of their Western education, held positions of leadership and responsibility in the administrative, political and professional life of Ceylon or had potential to do so." (ibid:21) According to the 23 biographical notes on some prominent Ceylonese of the period between 1910 and 1931 which are cited in his thesis, the majority received their educational qualifications abroad as the following table shows.

The last institutions where the prominent Ceylonese
received their education

Oxford	2
Cambridge	7
London (internal)	3
College in India	2
College in Ceylon	8
Uncertain	1

23

(Fernando, 1968:Appendix 475-479)

Further, eleven out of twenty three studied at Inns of Court in London. This high proportion of the new elite with British Law qualifications explains why the new elite chose a European concept of "law and order", in their campaign for

increasing Ceylonese power against British rule. If the prominent Ceylonese thus received their education mainly abroad, the function of those who passed the Cambridge Senior or London Matriculation Examination and possessed the minimum qualification for the new elite still remains to be explained. For example, in all, 11,198 candidates passed senior Cambridge Local Examinations between 1900 and 1939. In addition to it, 9494 candidates passed one or more of the University of London Colonial Examinations between 1882 and 1939. 967 out of 9494 were awarded degrees.

Further, in the existing literature, the fact that the Ceylon University College, Colombo, before achieving full university status under the auspices of the University of London was subject to the same procedures as all the British provincial universities before World War II has been hardly mentioned. It is important to point this out from the perspective of British policy on higher education. Although it is arguable whether the British pattern should have been accepted as the only way of establishing a university in Ceylon it seems reasonable for the British authority in Ceylon to have followed the British experience in order to establish a university in Ceylon.

It is also important to note that the University of London acted in the light of its principles, which applied not only to Ceylon candidates, but to candidates in other colonies, as well as to the candidates in Britain. However, the result had political consequences for race relations in Ceylon as

will be shown in the following chapter.

In order to examine the role of the ULCE in Ceylon, firstly, the existing literature will be reviewed. Secondly, the general background, political, economic and educational, will be briefly described. Thirdly, the development of higher education and the ULCE in Ceylon will be examined.

2. Review of the Existing Literature

As has been mentioned in the introduction, many theses, books and articles have been written on the development of educational system in Ceylon. The literature not only provides a descriptive history of the educational development, but also deals with the connection between Western type education, government employment and new elites. However although the importance of a European type education has been pointed out, the fact that the University of London Colonial Examinations played an important role in the development of the higher education and in the formation of the new elite has not as yet been properly examined. In this connection, the main issues discussed in the existing literature will be reviewed, to gain an understanding of the neglect of the ULCE.

2-i Origin and Function of Higher Education

With respect to the origins of higher education, Chandrasegaram, P (1962) points out two important factors, British administration and the Christian mission in the early

19th century. For example, Chandrasegaram mentions three schools in Colombo established around 1800 in order to supply the purposes of government, and two students of the above school who were appointed for the first time in 1802 to the public service as interpreters to the Courts of Colombo. (Chandrasegaram, 1962:35) The early scholarships which were designed to allow students to go to Scotland to study for ordination shows that education was also identified with Christianity. (ibid:49) These two elements influenced the development of higher education in Ceylon in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century.

Amarasekera, C.L. (1974) shares with Chandrasegaram, the view on the position of higher education but Amarasekera also considers that the aim of the education system under colonial rule was to serve the purpose of colonial rule. For example, the universities "were to train the administrators who were to form a part of the bureaucracy, and help to diffuse Western culture." (Amarasekera, 1974:88). Secondary education was to comply with the requirements of the universities and was organised on the same principle as the universities.

Straus, M (1951) carried out a survey of the social and economic background, and the occupational choices of 212 students entering the University of Ceylon in 1950. The survey shows that "the university is a government department designed to prepare the children of government employees for the government service." (Straus, 1951:134) For example, with

respect to the future of the students, 51.0% of the male students and 21.7% of the female students want to be professionals, but none of the students express a desire to work on plantations or on farm operations, although agriculture is the major industry of Ceylon. Conversely, 62.7% of the students showed a desire to work for the government. (ibid:133)

An important factor which formed higher education in Ceylon was the Colebrook Recommendation in 1831. The Commission recommended the re-organisation of the administrative service in Ceylon. The use of English as the language of administration and also as a medium of education and the establishment of five English schools of which one was to be a central school, were recommended. The Colombo Academy became the centre for higher education, and the learning of English and European culture was essential for entry into the civil service and other professional occupations. Accordingly Ceylonese with qualifications in the government service gradually increased.

2-ii Government Service and Race

The following accounts by Andradi and Tambiah show the positions which Ceylonese held in the government service, differences in the occupational achievement among different races, and recruitment to the government service. Andradi (1967) examines the position of English-educated Ceylonese in the official life of the island in respect of payment,

prospects, conditions and terms of employment of the natives between 1865 and 1883. The official life, according to his thesis, includes the legal profession and the civil service, the latter consisting of Civil Service Proper, Headmen, Clerical Service, Police Force, Public Works department, Survey department, Railways, other Technical Services and Medical Services. This develops the findings of Roberts' article on the national elite. (Roberts, 1973).

Under British rule, both the traditional form of recruitment based on birth, and ability existed in the government administration. For example, Headmanship was associated with the former. In order to carry out daily duties which were directly related to the people in localities, headman of a higher status in a locality were essential.

There was also a difference in recruitment between the British and the Ceylonese in the civil service. For example, the Civil Service Proper was predominantly recruited from Europeans, and the Headman and the clerical service from the Ceylonese. The former was the central power group and the latter consisted of subordinate officers in the administration. The Ceylonese were also recruited in sections where there was a difficulty in obtaining qualified Europeans. For example, the Ceylonese were recruited in the medical and legal fields from the first half of the 19th century. In this connection a Medical College and Law School were established in the 1870's to meet the situation. Medicine is one of the professions which had a suitable

training institution and employment opportunities as well as prospects of promotion. In technical services such as the Public Works Department, Survey Department and Railways, Europeans were more favoured than the Ceylonese during the period concerned, partly owing to the lack of properly qualified Ceylonese. With respect to payment, in general, the Ceylonese were paid less than the Europeans whenever they were appointed to positions formerly held by the Europeans. Thus, during the period concerned, the employment condition of the Ceylonese in the public service was very specialized and under paid relative to Europeans.

Tambiah (1955) examines between 1870 and 1946 the change in the proportion of Ceylonese to Europeans and the relative proportion of the ethnic groups, in the administrative and social welfare agencies such as the Civil Service (Proper), Judicial Service, Medical Department and the Public Works, Irrigation and Survey Department. For this purpose, Tambiah chooses the Civil List of 1870, 1907, 1925 and 1946, and the Census Reports of 1871, 1911, 1921, and 1946.

During the period from 1850 to 1910, the coffee industry and the related industries developed, and government administrative departments also expanded. Accordingly the number of civil servants increased as the following table 6.1 shows. (Tambiah, 1955:115-116)

Table 6.1: Number of civil servants

Civil Lists							Census Reports	
Civil Service			Public Works			Civil Medical Dept.	Gov.Servants Gov.Clerks	
Year	Total	Ceylonese %	Total	Ceylonese %			Year	
1870	81	8	10	35	2	5.7		
1907	95	12	13	66	20	30.3	1911	5,375
1925	135	43	32	73			1921	7,851
1946	160			(71)			1946	22,633

Source: Compilation from p.115-116, Tambiah (1955).

As the above table shows, the number of Ceylonese employees and also the percentage of the Ceylonese in the total number of government employees increased in accordance with the expansion of the administration.

Tambiah also shows a fluctuation in the employment of the Ceylonese in the sections of the government service. For example, in the Civil Service Proper, the proportion of the Ceylonese in the Lower Division increased, but not in the Upper Division where the position carried more responsibility. The proportion of the Ceylonese in the Public Works Department had increased to just over 50% by 1946. The Ceylonese filled most of the positions in the Medical Service and Judicial Department, while the Survey and Irrigation Departments were left to the Europeans. The increase and fluctuation are explained by (1) British policy,

(2) expansion of education, mainly based on English and (3) political agitation on an organized scale. For example, the British had to occupy the decision-making posts, therefore, the number of Ceylonese increased in the subordinate positions.

With respect to the representation of different ethnic groups in the Civil Lists, Tambiah shows that the Sinhalese were under-represented and the Burghers and Tamils were over-represented in the Civil Service Proper in relation to their numbers to the total population. At the same time, the increase in the number of Sinhalese on the lower rungs suggests that the Sinhalese representation should increase later as the people lower down would be appointed to higher positions when they became senior.

The tables 6.2 and 6.3 by Tambiah also show a significant relation between occupation and race. For example, Tamils and Burghers are found in both major government sections and in the professions. On the other hand, "the Moors seem to have confined themselves to trade and commerce." (ibid:131) For example, the 1921 Census shows that 44% of the total population engaged in material trading are Ceylon Moors. The Kandyan Sinhalese did not show an interest either in the civil service or the professions. The educated low-country Sinhalese were engaged in agriculture, government employment and the professions. It is remarkable that in 1921 the low-country Sinhalese accounted for 86% of the numbers who were Coconut Plantation owners, managers and supervisory staff and

51% of the tea planters, managers and supervisory staff.

Table 6.2: Census Report

	1946	1921	1921	1921
	Total population	Engineers Architects	Barristers advocates	Physicians & medical practitioners
	6,657,337			841
Sinhalese	69.4%	19		
Low country & Kandyan			377 (46%) 31 (4%)	259 (31%) 22 (3%)
Tamils Ceylon & Indian	11%	6	228 (28%)	374 (44%)
Moors Ceylon & Indian	5.6%		19	8
Burghers and Eurasians	0.63%	26	129 (16%)	99 (12%)
Others				53
Europeans		107	16	26

Source: Compilation from figures by Tambiah, 1955:127,129,130.

Changes in the proportion among different races in the civil service occurred in the 1930's, especially in the Medical Service. For example, there were 156 Sinhalese doctors in Government Service as against 54 Burghers and 73 Ceylon Tamils in 1935, (ibid:133) but in 1946 the proportion of the races is reversed. The following table 6.3 shows the number of personnel in certain sections of the government service.

Table 6.3: Civil servants by race, 1946

	Total population	Civil Service	Supreme Court	Judicial Service	Public Works Dpt.	Doctors
	6,657,337	155	12			
Sinhalese Low country & Kandyan	69.4%	69 (44.5%)	5	21	35	205
Tamils Ceylon & Indian	11%	31 (20%)	1	13	17	115
Moors Ceylon & Indian	5.6%					
Burghers and Eurasians	0.63%	16 (10.3%)	3	11	15	25
Others						
Europeans		39 (25.2%)	3			

Source: The table is compiled from the figures in the article by Tambiah, 1955.

Tambiah attributes the increase in Sinhalese in the main section shown in the above table partly to the increase in the absolute numbers of English educated Sinhalese over other Burghers or Tamils. Other reasons given by Tambiah are the increase in the number of Sinhalese who did not possess land and therefore sought for means to gain better employment, and "the change in motivation or direction of interest among Sinhalese regarding occupational employment." (Tambiah, 1955: 134)

2-iii Elites

One of the changes which the British brought to Ceylon was a new method of recruitment to the government service. Those

who entered the government service held a position on the basis of western education and formed the new elite, in comparison with the traditional elite on the basis of family background. Roberts (1973) and Fernando (1968) discuss how the new elites were formed.

Roberts, M. (1973), as previously mentioned, distinguishes three social strata in Ceylon, namely the "masses", "intermediate elite" or "local elite", and the "national elite", as against the existing view that there are two groups, the masses and the Westernized elite. (Roberts, 1973:264) The status of the national elite as the top stratum of Ceylonese society was mainly acquired through private enterprise, the civil service and the professional occupations. The first involves capital investment and economic enterprise in various fields. For example, although trading in foodstuffs and other commodities was popular under Dutch rule, it was during the nineteenth century that the older trades were extended on a larger scale and new business was created. For example, cash crop plantations and related industries, trade in general merchandise, and urban property business were expanded in the nineteenth century. With respect to government service, this carried status and authority as the number of Ceylonese recruited locally was limited. (ibid:271) The medical and legal professions especially were associated with government service positions. For private enterprise, the civil service and professional occupations, a western-type education was essential as a means of entry.

If we consider the composition of the national elite, Roberts describes how different races or different castes in a race obtained national elite status. Under British rule, the traditional elites maintained their elite status by adapting themselves to the changing circumstances in the following way. Firstly, "the principal (Sinhalese) headmen were among the chief landowners in Ceylon and had also been the principal recipients of land grants in early British times." (ibid:276) Secondly, "though many of the powers enjoyed by the principal headman were reduced, these offices continued to be a crucial part of the British administrative infrastructure." (ibid) Thus the traditional elite continued to be the national elite by becoming the leading Ceylonese plantation owners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (ibid:277) Nevertheless, the power of elite families in the Kandyan districts was reduced and they became a rural and local elite, partly because of the political conflicts between the Kandyan elite and the British.

Fernando (1968) also distinguishes two groups within the new elite, following a definition by Smythe and Smythe: 'upper level elite' for the leaders, policy makers, the intellectuals and the 'pace settlers', and 'lower elite or sub-elite' for clerks, technicians, and other subordinates. (Fernando, 1968:5) Lawyers, doctors and government servants with responsibility belong to the former. In order to become a member of the lower elite, an education up to the "Cambridge Senior" was required as the minimum educational

background. Amarasekera also includes the Matriculation as a qualification. (Amarasekera, 1974:91).

From 1910 to 1931, the new elite took the lead in socio-political activities such as the Temperance movement, the 1915 communal riots and the constitutional reform movement. At the same time it helped to bring about the expansion of employment opportunities for the educated Ceylonese and the expansion of higher education. The establishment of the University College in 1921 was a result of this pressure.

Although Burghers and Tamils were over represented and Sinhalese were under represented in the government service, on the whole, the new elites are not seriously challenged by the traditional elites or by the Sinhalese and Tamil speaking masses. This is because the traditional elite became "mere government functionaries or holders of honorary ranks with neither power nor responsibility," (Fernando, 1968:473) although at the same time they also received Western education. Thus the traditional elite families were recruited to Western education at an early stage of British rule.

In this way, both Roberts and Fernando define elites in the modern society and point out the importance of a Western-type education as a qualification for the elite. As a consequence of the colonial intervention the traditional elite by taking advantage of both educational and commercial opportunities maintained its position but there was a change in its form of reproduction which now occurred through access to the new

cultural capital and the new economic capital.

Thus, the existing literature shows that a western type education was the major factor through which Ceylonese could enter the government service, and become members of the elites.

2-iv Higher Education and Race

With respect to the people who received higher education, it is generally accepted among scholars, as we have seen, that there was a difference among races in attitudes towards western education. For example, Burghers and Ceylon Tamils took advantage of western education at an early stage of British rule. Conversely, the Muslims and the Kandyan Sinhalese did not rely on western education so much. (Roberts, 1973). However, although the above statement is accepted, detailed analyses of the students in higher education under colonial rule are not available. There are, however, two surveys of the students in the University of Ceylon, Colombo, after the War. The surveys show the characteristics of the students under colonial rule. For example, a survey by Jennings, I. (1944) on race, religion and economic opportunity of the students in the University of Ceylon in 1942, 1943 and 1944 also shows over representation of Tamils and Burghers and under representation of Sinhalese, Ceylon Moors and Malays, in proportion to the total Ceylonese population. On the race proportion of students in 1950, Straus points out that Kandyan Sinhalese are under represented. (Straus, 1951:135)

With respect to the religion of students in the University of Ceylon, two surveys by Jennings (1944) and by Straus (1951) show that Christians were over represented while Buddhists and Muslims were under represented, in comparison with the percentage of the total population in different religions. This shows that religion was one of the strong factors which determined success for entry to the University.

Jennings adds geographical distribution of the students as a factor which affected racial proportion of students. Jennings argues that the fact that the majority of the students (85.3%) came from the Western, the Northern and the Southern provinces and mainly from cities such as Colombo, Kandy, Galle and Jaffna, may explain the under-representation of the Sinhalese in relation to "(a) the over-representation of the Western Province, with its mixed racial population, (b) the over-representation of the Northern Province, which has few Sinhalese, and (c) the heavy under-representation of the Kandyan Sinhalese." (Jennings, 1944:5)

With respect to the relation between race and English literacy of the University students, Jennings and Straus differ. Jennings asserts "the absence of any relation between English literacy and the proportions of "Races" among the students." (Jennings, 1944:6) On the other hand, Straus takes the view that (i) those who speak English at home have an advantage at the university as the medium of instruction and of examination is English, (ii) those who speak English at home are the most Anglicized population in Ceylon,

accordingly they wish their children to have a western-type education.

The race disproportion in the number of students in higher education and professions led to the privileging of the Sinhalese-Buddhist tradition in the 1960's and related to this shift is the policy of nationalization of schools.

2-v Communalism

With respect to the question when and how Sinhalese obtained power, Crook in his Ph.D. thesis (1969) points out that communalism strengthened its character in the nationalism in the 1910's. According to Crook, in the early 1830's the colonial government laid down reforms in administration of Ceylon according to the recommendation by the Colebrook Cameron report, which was to abolish communal distinctions. (Crook, 1969:13-14) However at the beginning of the 20th century, the Sinhalese developed a national ideology combined with the Buddhist revival. With respect to minority races the Ceylon Tamils, the Burghers and Europeans essentially pursued community interests and the Mohammedans and the Indian merchants resident in Ceylon were never associated with the movement (ibid:212). The minorities saw the constitutional reform as increasing the power of the Sinhalese and decreasing vesting rights for the minority groups (ibid:213). As a result, Ceylon Tamils left the Ceylon National Congress around 1920 (ibid:226). Thus communalism became stronger than nationalism as a united organisation for different races against the British ruler.

Barham, P. in his thesis (1984) examines the policy of nationalization of schools proposed in 1960. By this policy, 2,578 Assisted schools, mainly run by religious denominations were nationalised in 1960. (Barham, 1984:12) This policy was to extend equality of educational opportunity by eliminating certain privileged schools which were established in the colonial period. However certain Buddhist schools were allowed to remain on condition that they were not supported by public funds.

Barham asserts that this nationalization policy implied a change in norms from Christian oriented colonialism to the Sinhalese-Buddhist tradition. Despite the expressed egalitarian aim of the government policy of 1960, "only a qualified egalitarianism which was relatable to the 'welfare' component of the Asokan paradigm" (ibid:216) was reached. Consequently, it did not eliminate all educational inequalities between socio-economic groups (ibid).

Here a problem arises with the existing literature in explaining the change from a western oriented norm to the traditional Buddhist norm in the 1960's. For example, if the Tamils and Burghers had obtained positions in the administration or professions as the existing literature agrees, the Sinhalese could not have had powers which enabled them to nationalize schools. It seems that the Sinhalese acquired powers which enabled them to control Ceylon's future, much earlier than the 1960's.

2-vi Summary

Now we will summarise the point made in the literature and discuss the problems to which they give rise.

The arguments focus on the emergence of the new elite which replaced the traditional elite by means of a Western education and on the imbalance in employment in the government service both between Europeans and Ceylonese, and between different racial groups.

In the literature, over representation of Burghers and Tamils and under representation of Sinhalese in administrative and professional occupations are stressed. (Roberts, 1973) (Fernando, 1968) (Tambiah, 1955). It is also pointed out that over representation of a race in the government service changed from Burghers in the 19th century to Tamils in the early 20th century (Roberts, 1973), and to Sinhalese in the 1940's. (Tambiah, 1955). The reason for over representation of Burghers and Tamils is explained by their taking advantage of Western education (Robert, 1973). The increase in the number of Sinhalese in the administrative and professional occupation is also explained in the same way: the absolute number of English educated Sinhalese increased over other Burghers and Tamils. (Tambiah, 1955) Thus the existing literature shows a correlation between the number of students educated in the Western manner and the number of personnel in the administrative and professional posts. This statement is not problematic as only those who were educated in the Western manner could hold positions in administrative and

professional positions.

However, there are two issues here. Firstly, the evidence is based only on the examination of the number of personnel in the government service by race. That is to say, the statement is drawn on the one hand from the description of the development of higher education and on the other hand from the analysis of the race proportion in the government service. Yet, the correlation between higher education and occupations had not been fully analysed. For example, does the increase in the number of Western educated students automatically means a parallel increase in the number of personnel in the government services? Does the change in the number of personnel in the administration from one race to another mean an increase in the number of students in one race and a decrease in another race? Did all the Western educated people enter the government service? It is assumed that there was a gap between the number of Western educated students and the number of personnel in the government services. If so, there must have been selection for the personnel in the government services. How were the government servants selected? Could the qualifications or races have been a factor of selection?

Secondly, with respect to the judgement of over representation and under representation of certain races in the government service, the comparison is made between the race proportion in the government service and in the Island population. (Tambiah, 1955) This implies that the evidence

is shifted in the comparison from the population with higher qualifications to the general population. Accordingly, the number of the population with qualifications is not taken into account in the argument. As a result, the statement that Burghers and Tamils took advantage of Western education to enter the civil service necessarily gives rise to the statement that Burghers and Tamils were disproportionately over represented in the government service.

The above problems reside in the lack of analysis of the race proportion of students who received Western education at different times. Accordingly it is necessary to re-examine the correlation between higher education, occupation and race. The definition of Western type education in the existing literature is also vague. For example, the distinction between the qualifications obtained abroad and the qualifications obtained in Ceylon with respect to occupation has yet to be made.

We attempted to examine the future occupations of the students at the Royal College or the Ceylon University College as one way to examine the correlation between higher qualifications and occupations. However, this created a major problem. We wrote to the dean of the University of Ceylon to find out whether there was an alumni list giving the occupation of graduates. Unfortunately, such a list does not exist. Even if it did exist, by itself the list would be inadequate because as we shall see later, the population of higher education is much larger than the student number at

the colleges. The candidate numbers for the ULCE, through which many Ceylonese obtained degrees before the establishment of the Ceylon University College, and until the establishment of the University of Ceylon, Colombo would seem to provide to be nearer a more accurate estimate of the higher education population. Thus it is crucial to examine the occupational choice of the University of London graduates (external) including both private and college students.

We shall examine the occupation of those who obtained degrees through the University of London (external) with particular reference to the government service.

3. General Background

As an aid to understanding the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon, this section will / briefly describe ~~the~~ political, economic and educational development in Ceylon, focussing on the period between 1900 and 1939.

3-i Political and Economic Context

Ceylon has been a mixed country in religion, race and language, and in this respect is similar to most of the Asian countries. Yet, Ceylon has been a Buddhist country despite the vigorous missionary activities of the Portuguese, Dutch and British for over 400 years. (Appendix 7 - Table 7.1)

Since the Portuguese Catholic mission in the 16th century,

different Christian denominations propagated their doctrines. They were encouraged to propagate Christianity in Ceylon and in return protected by the mother countries partly for ulterior motives. For example, the Portuguese Catholic mission had a covert political aim² and the Dutch protected Calvinism and expelled Catholic priests in order to pursue their commercial interests. Under British rule after 1796 (except Kandy) and 1815 (the whole island), Christianity was especially promoted as a means of ruling the country in the hope that it would reduce hostility against the foreign power through the conversion of the indigenous peoples to the rulers' religion, and hence perhaps lead to the acceptance of the foreign government. Among Christian missionaries, the established Church of England and other protestant mission schools were to receive aid from the government. Neither the non-Christian schools nor the Catholic schools received grants before 1870, a matter will be discussed later in relation to education.

The important difference between the previous foreign rulers and the British is that the former maintained the existing social structure within which traditional mercantile trade was carried out, whereas the latter attempted to exploit the land more vigorously. As a result Ceylon was led to modernization by the consolidation of a road and railway network for plantations and by the introduction of a uniform judicial system and medical service. At the same time the old system of administration with the chief and headman as leaders was gradually replaced by people who acquired

European skills and English language.

The initial change began in the 1830's when coffee plantations began to be the centre of the island's economy. Some 4,000 acres of coffee plantation in 1836 increased to 37,596 acres in 1845. (Andradi, 1967:7) The land and the coffee cultivation increased 9.4 times within ten years. Along with the development of coffee planting, land was sold for that purpose and surveying and legal procedures accompanied the sales. For example, in 1834, 49 acres of Crown land were sold and between 1840 and 1845, 42,880 acres were sold annually. (Ibid:345) The increase in coffee planting also led to the development of road construction and railway networks for transportation of the crops. Roads connected the coastal ports and the coffee growing districts, and the first railway line, which was extended later, was opened in 1867 between Colombo and Kandy. The development of coffee industry also created the problem of a high mortality rate among Indian immigrants who were employed as coolies. For example, a mortality rate of 10% in 1876 and 16% in 1877 was recorded. (ibid:430) Although the planters and the government did not agree about the cause of the mortality rate, the urgency of the problem certainly convinced the government of the need to solve it and contributed to the organization of medical facilities. According to the Census of 1946, 12.8 per cent of the total population were in the plantation estates while 71.9 per cent lived in the rural sections and 15.3 per cent in the urban section. Of those who were at the plantation estates, nearly 9 per cent of the

labourers were immigrants from India. (Karunatilake, 1971:10-16)

Thus, the pattern of the economic structure in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century did not change. The economy was dependent on plantations and related enterprises, and subsistence agriculture. The principal plantation crop changed from coffee to tea after the 1870's. Accordingly, 90 per cent of Ceylon's exports were plantation products such as tea, rubber and coconut. The main imported goods were food, drink and tobacco, raw materials and manufactured articles. (Appendix 7 - Table 7.2)

3-ii Development of the Education System in Ceylon

The European type education was brought to Ceylon for the purposes of Christian missions and of administration. In this sense, the establishment of the Western education system was initially a desire of the British as of the Portuguese and of the Dutch, and not a desire of the Ceylonese. However the benefits of education were not confined to the British, for education also benefited the Ceylonese who could obtain better and more secure jobs outside the restrictions of the caste system.

In Ceylon as a Buddhist country, education was traditionally reserved for the monks, in the form of pansala and pirivena. The former gave a general education for the future monks and the latter was for the education of monks who had renounced domestic life. These were both religious institutions and

women were never admitted to them. Although the caste system of Buddhism in Ceylon was not so rigid as that of Hinduism in India, it was unlikely that members of the lower castes would receive formal education.

Missionaries brought a new concept of education into the country where a different set of concepts was operating. One of the impacts of Christian missions in Ceylon was popularization of education irrespective of family background or sex. For example, the following figures on literacy indicate that Christian females received a better education than the females of other religions or even than the males of other religions.

Table 6.4: Percentage of population literate by religion, 1921 (Quotation from Singer, 1964:158)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Christian	66.0	50.1
Buddhist	50.4	16.8
Muslim	44.8	6.3
Hindu	36.9	10.2

Although education did not bring women jobs, educated women were important as the group who could potentially affect the socialization of their children in motivation, aspiration and pedagogic competencies by transmitting the social values of the British. The high rate of literacy in Christian women may also be taken as a general pattern in all the colonies. According to a quotation from Singer in Barham, (Barham, 1984:64) in 1931 when the first general election was held in Ceylon, 48% of the seats in the state council were held by Christians and only 41% by the Buddhists. This means that

the 10% of the Christian population played a decisive part against the 90% of the other denominations in policy making in the 1930's. In this way, the strong influence of Christianity was seen through the 19th and the early 20th century. Further it was especially the schools which transmitted Christianity to the society.

The characteristics of the British educational policy in Ceylon were also seen in the following policy: free vernacular education for the mass, and fee paying English education for the selected. This had several implications. On the one hand the policy seems to stress the preservation of the indigenous culture, but on the other hand, it ignored the social function of these schools because the vernacular education did not enhance job prospects for the majority, and the English language was the key for better jobs. Further it functioned as a system of selection of children by wealth rather than ability for higher education, and administrative and professional positions.

In Ceylon, post secondary education was developed in the early decades of this century, which was early in comparison with other colonial countries. However the foundation of the development in the 20th century were laid in the 19th century. One of the characteristics of higher education was that, from the second half of the 19th century, education was indirectly controlled by external bodies. Although this was common to other British colonies, the influence was much greater in Ceylon than in any of the other colonies.

In the following section, the development of education will be briefly described at primary, secondary and higher levels as a background to the development of the ULCE in Ceylon.

3-ii-1 Primary Education

In the early years of British rule, education was identified with the Christian missions. The British inherited the Dutch seminaries and placed them under the management of the Established Church of England. Other Christian missionaries were also encouraged to promote Christianity and to carry out educational work in Ceylon. For example, the first Governor, F. North appointed Rev. James Cordiner as Superintendent or Principal of government schools. T. Martland, the successor of F. North, set up a scholarship scheme, under which a certain number of the children of the most powerful natives were to be educated and ordained in Scotland. (Chandrasegaram, 1962:40) According to Chandrasegaram, one of the first two scholars who accompanied Maitland to England, was ordained and became a chaplain. (ibid:50) Christianity was also a subject taught in government schools till nearly the end of the century, (Jayaweera, 1966:50) while the interests of the 90% non-Christian communities were ignored.

Although concern about the education of Ceylonese children was shown from the early stages of the British reign and several attempts were made to set up a responsible organisation for education,³ it was the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1868 which effectively

organised the education system in Ceylon.

The Educational Code for Assisted Schools of 1870, which was to give grants to schools on condition of their maintaining educational standards, gave the opportunity of establishing Buddhist, Hindu and Catholic schools, which previously could not obtain grants. The following tables 6.5 and 6.6 shows the expansion in the number of the schools after 1870. However the increase was seen mainly in Christian schools, and it was not until the 1890's that the Buddhist schools increased substantially. Table 6.7 also shows that the majority of the children at school were educated in the vernacular. Unaided schools increased much more quickly. The figures quoted above clearly show that the number of schools increased every year, but the number of the children who went to school was still small. Three quarters of the school age population in the island were not in school in 1901. (The Census of Ceylon, 1901. Vol.I:127)

Table 6.5: Number of schools and pupils

	Gov. schools	No. of pupils	Aided schools	No. of pupils	Unaided schools	No. of pupils
1869	120	7,156	21		285	6,442
1870	156	8,726	229	8,201	279	6,838
1890	436	40,290	984	73,698	2,617	32,464
1900	500	48,642	1,328	120,751	2,089	38,881
1939	2,060	326,483	3,260	457,711	780	43,896

Source: Administration Report, Ceylon. Part IV. D25, 1900:
Part IV. A 49, 1939; Board of Education 1900, Cd.417.
XXII. Pt.I:770.

Table 6.6: Aided schools by religious bodies

Denominations	1870	1890	1900	1939
Christian				
American	44	134	129	89
Anglican	82	285	318	189
Baptist	5	42	25	40
Presbyterian	-	2	2	7
Roman Catholic	31	225	336	644
Wesleyan	58	245	307	222
Others				137
Christian Total	220	933	1,117	1,328
Buddhist	-	18	142	285
Hindu	-	6	45	86
Mohammedan	-	-	4	12
Private and Sivite	9	26	20	1,223
Local Board	-	1	-	10
Others				45
Total	229	984	1,328	2,989

Source: Administration Reports, Ceylon, Part IV.D, 1870; Part IV.D15, 1890; Part IV.D32, 1900; Part IV. A46-47, 1939.

**Table 6.7: Classification of schools and pupils
in 1900 and 1939**

	1900		1939	
	Schools	Pupils on roll	Schools	Pupils on roll
Total	3,917	208,274	6,100	828,090
GOVERNMENT				
English (day)	16	2,840	15	2,932
Anglo-Sinhalese			35	9,856
Anglo-Tamil			7	1,149
Sinhalese	} 484	45,802	1,672	281,872
Tamil			261	27,790
Training Schools			5	260
Industrial Schools			64	1,391
Technical College			1	1,233
ASSISTED				
English (day)	142	18,372	283	72,865
English (night)			38	4,584
Anglo-Sinhalese			16	3,187
Anglo-Tamil			16	4,325
Sinhalese (day)	} 1,186	102,379	1,152	228,181
Tamil (day)			636	86,163
Sinhalese (night)			1	26
Tamil (night)			1	36
Estate Schools			820	44,198
Training Schools			18	668
Industrial Schools			26	906
Pirivenas			95	5,557
Schools attached to places of religious worship			158	7,015
UNAIDED				
English (day)	} 60	2,925	67	4,696
English (night)			37	1,399
Anglo-Sinhalese	} 37	2,195	13	1,218
Anglo-Tamil			2	177
Sinhalese	} 1,978	33,328	163	13,005
Tamil			75	3,444
Classical Sinhalese			33	1,628
Tamil			21	1,305
Schools attached to places of religious worship				
Buddhist	13	410	75	2,013
Muslim			294	15,011
Portuguese	1	23		

Source: Administration Report, Ceylon 1900, Part IV. D32, 1900; Part IV. A49, 1939.

Note 1: Population 3,596,170 (in 1900), 5,897,000 (in 1939).

2: Proportion of children under instruction to population, 1 in 17 (in 1900), 1 in 7 (in 1939).

3-ii-2 Secondary Education and Technical Education

In comparison with the primary schools which were assisted by the government, most of secondary education was left in the hands of the missionary or private organizations.

In accordance with the recommendation by the Colebrook Commission in 1832, and by the Morgan Committee in 1867, most of the secondary schools adopted English language as a medium of education. These secondary schools were affiliated to the universities in India and the curriculum was organised in accordance with the external examinations of the Indian universities. However the linkage with the Indian universities was switched to the University of Cambridge Local Examination in 1880 and the University of London Colonial Examination in 1882. This will be discussed later in connection with higher education.

Among the secondary schools, the Colombo Academy, which was originally established in accordance with the recommendation of the Colebrook Commission and was taken over by the Government in 1836, was given special attention by the government with the aim of producing future administrators. The staff of the Colombo Academy were recruited from England after 1836. St. Thomas College was also a prestigious school.

Although the technical schools such as the agricultural and technical schools were established by the government in 1884 and 1893 respectively, they did not last long. As has been

mentioned previously, lack of appropriate qualifications and training was the reason for hindering the Ceylonese from obtaining employment in engineering and technical positions in government. The result was a disappointment. One of the reasons for the failure was that the students did not have a suitable educational background to benefit from the courses and the qualifications did not bring employment as there was no agricultural or industrial development in Ceylon at the end of the 19th century. Planting, which was the main industry, demanded only unskilled and semi-skilled workers. (Jayaweera, 1966:80)

Teacher training colleges were set up from the 1840's onwards for the English-medium schools and the vernacular schools.

In Ceylon, higher education was available in association with the Indian universities from the mid 19th century, although the actual number of students who took the courses was small. Notwithstanding, the government developed the institution as a nucleus of higher education through the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. At the same time, higher education was supported by external examinations and scholarships which contributed to raise the standard of higher education. In order to describe higher education in Ceylon, therefore, it is necessary to understand three factors, an institution, external examinations and scholarship awards. As we have seen, in the case of Mauritius there was little development of higher education, and the development of higher education in the Gold Coast was closely

linked to Achimota College itself influenced by the ULCE. In the case of Ceylon it is very difficult, if not impossible, to separate the development of higher education from the ULCE. As a consequence we shall consider the development of higher education within the context of the development of the ULCE in Ceylon.

4. The Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations

4-i Introduction

As we have seen previously, it is agreed among scholars that European-type education is one of the major factors in the acquisition of social status and wealth by the Ceylonese under the British reign. Within European-type education, higher education was especially important if the Ceylonese were to compete with their European counterparts for public employment. Until Ceylon's own university was established in 1942, there were two ways for the Ceylonese to obtain degrees before 1942: one, going abroad mainly to Britain or India, the other, studying in Ceylon and taking the ULCE. However, although the existing literature discusses the relation between the emergence of the new elite and European type education, it fails to point out distinctions within the new elite. The difference arose from the means through which the Ceylonese took degrees. Further, the fact that nearly one thousand Ceylonese took degrees through the ULCE between 1900 and 1939 has not been properly examined and its consequences traced.

In this section, in order to examine the role of ULCE, first we will briefly describe the development of the Colombo Academy as the nucleus of higher education and the change in scholarship awards in relation to external examinations and second, we will consider the development of the ULCE.

4-ii Higher Education

4-ii-1 The Colombo Academy, Royal College, and Ceylon University College

The Colombo Academy which became the government College in 1836, established an upper section called Queen's College in 1859. The College was affiliated to the University of Calcutta in the same year, and was closed in 1870 by reason of the paucity of students attending the College. For example, the number of students in the Queen's College was 5 in 1861, 5 in 1862, 5 in 1863, 9 in 1864, 7 in 1865, 5 in 1866 and 6 in 1867. (Chandrasegaram, 1962:109) The closure also seems to have reflected a view expressed in the Report of the Central School Commission on the educational system of Ceylon in 1867 that a high class education for natives was dangerous. (Andradi, 1867:19) The consequences of the abolition of Queen's College could be seen in two ways: a means through which the Ceylonese who could not send their children to England might have an opportunity to have higher education, was lost, second, the study of European science, which might have been pursued through the Indian Universities, was set back.

By the abolition, neither the Europeans who had no permanent interests in Ceylon nor the people who sent their children to England were affected. The Colombo Academy was re-organized as the Royal College in 1881 and began preparing students for the UCLE and the ULCE. The Royal College was again re-organized in 1921 when it became the Ceylon University College, as the result of the demand by the Ceylonese for their own university. The Ceylon University College opened with 155 students and offered courses not only on western but also on oriental subjects and prepared students for the external Arts and Science degrees of the University of London. The students increased to 338 in 1929.

Before the affiliation of the Ceylon University College to the University of London was decided in 1913, an enquiry was made to the University of Oxford about the possibility of affiliation by the Governor R. Chalmers and the Director of Education, W. Mannings. The University of Oxford responded to the request by appointing a Committee to advise the colonial government on the curriculum and examinations of the proposed college. However the process leading to Ceylon University College's affiliation to the University of London instead of the University of Oxford has not been made explicit in the available literature. The following comments may be made on the choice of the University of London: (i) although the University of Oxford had an enquiry from the governor, Oxford would probably have been debarred by its Statutes from having an affiliated college, (ii) the University of London, on the other hand, was in a position to

grant degrees to the colonial students who were not able to leave their country, (iii) the quality of the colonial examinations of the University of London was recognised⁴ and the Ceylon government actually replaced the examination of the Oxford and Cambridge joint-board by the London Colonial Examinations for the award of the University Scholarships which enabled one or two students to be sent to England for further studies, (iv) the past experience of the ULCE convinced the Ceylon government to choose the University of London.

4-ii-2 The Scholarship Scheme

As we have seen the University of Cambridge Local Examinations and the University of London Matriculation Examinations were introduced in Ceylon in 1880 and 1882 respectively. It is important to grasp the relation between the examinations and scholarship awards. The scholarship awards were intended to select some students for further studies abroad, at the same time they were used as a means of developing post secondary education. For example, a "University Scholarship" and "junior exhibitions" and the University of Cambridge Local Examinations were introduced at the same time. The University Scholarship was to send students to one of the recognised English, Scottish, or Irish Universities on the results of the Cambridge Senior Examinations. The junior exhibitions were tenable for 3 years at any registered high school in Ceylon on the results of the Cambridge Junior Examinations. The Gilchrist Scholarship, which was originally confined to candidates from

India, also allowed Ceylon students to compete for a place with Indian students. The Gilchrist Scholarship was to offer an opportunity of studying at the University of Edinburgh, or at University College, London for three years on the result of the University of London Matriculation Examinations from 1886. From 1891, the Gilchrist Scholarships were to be awarded every third year on the result of the University of Cambridge Senior Local Examination instead of the University of London Matriculation Examination to a candidate born in Ceylon to study for three years with a view to obtaining a degree or diploma in Civil Engineering in a University, College or Institution in the United Kingdom. (Administration Report, Ceylon. Part IV. D12, 1890)

The Cambridge Local Examinations for the University Scholarship were also replaced by the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations in 1897 on the condition that candidates had previously passed the "London Matriculation Examination" or the "Cambridge Senior Local Examination" with Honours, or the First Examination in Arts of Calcutta University in the first division. In 1907, the new rules for the University Scholarship were implemented on the University of London Intermediate Examinations instead of the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations. In order to conduct the University Scholarship examinations, the Senate of the University of London consented to modify the regulations for the Intermediate Examinations in both Arts and Science in the case of Ceylon candidates. According to the new regulations, the number of

the University Scholarships increased from one to two, one for Arts and the other for Science. In 1920, a third University Scholarship was awarded to encourage the scientific study of agriculture on the results of the London Intermediate Examination in Science in addition to the University Scholarship in Arts and Science.

Thus, the University of London Colonial Examinations were adopted as the basis of a selection for the University Scholarships after 1907, but the advantages of the ULCE over the UCLE had already been argued in the following way in 1889: (Administration Report, Ceylon. Part IV. D10-11, 1889)

- (1) Scholars who went to the University of London after winning the Gilchrist Scholarship were much more successful in England than scholars who won the Government Scholarship on the Cambridge Local Examinations who proceeded to Oxford and Cambridge.
- (2) (i) The BA degree could be taken without leaving Ceylon.
- (ii) The University of London Matriculation papers in English were generally useful as they required a much more general knowledge of English and also they were exactly the style of paper set for Civil Service of India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Chinese examinations, while the Cambridge Local Examinations stressed Literature and Grammar as well as Logic and Political Economy.
- (iii) There was the possibility of including Sinhalese and Tamil as the option of examination, which was

an advantage to the Ceylon students.

- (iv) In the London Examination, there was no paper in Religious knowledge.
- (v) In the London Matriculation Examination, candidates took usually nine papers across six subjects, while candidates at the Cambridge Local Examination took 19 or 20 papers across six subjects.

After the establishment of the Ceylon University College, Colombo, the link between the College, the ULCE and scholarship awards became stronger. For example, the scheme for the constitution of the University College was designed to situate it as the centre of higher education in the Colony. The curricula provided at the opening of the College in January 1921 were intended to include full courses in Arts and Science for the intermediate and final examinations for the BA and BSc degrees of the University of London. (Administration Report, Ceylon, Part IV. A3, 1920) From 1922, the University Scholarships were awarded at the University College on the result of the University of London Final Examinations instead of the Intermediate Examinations, and were for postgraduate studies in England. Admission to the full courses was to be confined to applicants who were registered as matriculated students of the University of London. Classes in Arts and Science as prescribed for the external degree course of the University of London were provided in the following subjects:

English, Latin, Greek, Sinhalese, Tamil, Sanskrit,
Pali, Mathematics, History, Economics, Geography,

Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, Education and Philosophy.

In 1923, two scholarships in Engineering were added, and a Scholarship for Mathematics was instituted in 1927. In 1930, scholarships tenable for from 2 to 4 years in the United Kingdom were awarded in 6 sections in all: (i) A postgraduate scholarship in Arts, (ii) A postgraduate scholarship in Oriental Languages, (iii) A postgraduate scholarship in Natural Sciences, (iv) A postgraduate scholarship in Mathematics, (v) Two scholarships for the purpose of studying Engineering, (vi) A Scholarship for the purpose of studying Agriculture or Forestry.

4-ii-3 Candidate Numbers for Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations

The relation between the Scholarship scheme, Ceylon University College, Colombo, and external examinations will be looked at in respect of the candidate numbers for the external examinations.

The following table 6.8 shows candidate numbers and passed candidate numbers for the University of Cambridge Local Examinations and the University of London Matriculation Examinations between 1900 and 1939 and the student numbers at the University College between 1921 and 1939. The table shows that the candidate numbers and passed candidate numbers of the UCLE steadily increased despite several changes in the regulations of the University Scholarship as we have already

Table 6.8: Candidates and successful candidates at Cambridge Senior and London Matriculation Examinations, and number of Ceylon University College students

Year	Cambridge Senior		London Matriculation		Total		University College Student
	Cand.	Passed	Cand.	Passed	Cand.	Passed	
1900	143	61	24	10	167	71	
1901	153	73	14	3	167	76	
1902	196	104	15	4	211	108	
1903	200	105	10	2	210	107	
1904	269	130	7	4	276	134	
1905	283	105	24	16	307	121	
1906	295	118	16	5	311	123	
1907	360	155	37	15	397	170	
1908	427	186	25	7	452	193	
1909	486	209	23	11	509	220	
1910	578	247	46	14	624	261	
1911	609	245	38	16	647	261	
1912	647	347	33	15	680	362	
1913	820	340	62	27	882	367	
1914	792	427	65	29	857	456	
1915	1,159	499	80	22	1,239	521	
1916	542	107	89	36	631	143	
1917	558	232	237	61	795	293	
1918	584	221	295	65	879	286	
1919	734	393	375	108	1,109	501	
1920	828	400	393	124	1,221	524	
1921	909	309	484	136	1,393	445	166
1922	1,045	341	469	129	1,514	470	217
1923	1,128	371	499	76	1,627	447	262
1924	1,335	322	456	96	1,791	418	262
1925	1,599	392	354	87	1,953	479	256
1926	1,626	337	288	82	1,914	419	313
1927	1,510	394	338	67	1,848	461	279
1928	1,495	379	418	111	1,913	490	315
1929	1,461	468	535	144	1,996	612	338
1930	1,547	414	740	155	2,287	569	394
1931	1,505	496	824	174	2,329	670	355
1932	1,442	403	945	209	2,387	612	377
1933	1,435	375	971	219	2,406	594	417
1934	1,410	352	1,094	297	2,504	649	449
1935	1,231	325	1,417	367	2,648	692	539
1936	743	237	1,791	418	2,534	655	541
1937	541	220	2,235	615	2,776	835	586
1938	440	185	2,891	781	3,331	966	664
1939	421	174	2,143	868	2,564	1,042	629
Total	33,486	11,198	20,800	5,625	54,286	16,823	

seen. In comparison with the increase of candidate numbers for the UCLE, candidate numbers for the University of London Matriculation Examinations were very small until 1916, which was a few years before the establishment of the Ceylon University College, Colombo in 1921. It suggests that the change of "University Scholarship" regulations from Cambridge Senior Examination to the ULCE had little practical effect upon candidates until the establishment of the Ceylon University College, Colombo. The College originally required the University of London Matriculation for its admission. One of the reasons for the steady increase of candidates for the Cambridge Examinations is that the Ceylon University College, Colombo admitted students who passed the Cambridge

Table 6.8 (previous page)

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Reports and Tables 1900-1904.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Papers, Class Lists, Reports 1900-1939.

Administration Reports, Ceylon 1921-1939.

Note 1: The number of candidates and passed candidates for the London Matriculation is compiled from the Minutes of the Senate, University of London. The numbers are also given in the Administration Reports, but the numbers in the two sources are different. According to the Administration Reports, 1900-1939, the total candidate number for the London Matriculation is 21,773 (the number in 1911 is missing), and the total successful candidate number is 5,468 (the number in 1921 is missing).

Note 2: The number of candidates and passed candidates for the London Matriculation includes those who took supplementary subjects. The number of candidates and successful candidates who took the entire examinations between 1900 and 1939 is 20,530, and 5,511 respectively. The number of candidates and successful candidates who took supplementary subjects is 270, and 114.

Senior Examinations as well as those qualified by the University of London Matriculation Examinations. However, the admission by the Cambridge Senior Certificate to the University College caused the problem of a discrepancy between educational standards possessed and required for University studies. (Administration Report, Ceylon. Part IV. B8, 1924) This was also related to

"tendency to regard the College as a coaching institution where the student might purchase instruction in one or more subjects at will, and might be presenting himself as a private student for the London Examinations still sit for his examination even though he had not satisfied the authorities that his conduct and progress were satisfactory." (Administration Report, Ceylon. Part IV, B4, 1922)

This is partly explained by the increase in the number of private candidates for the ULCE. For example, the number of candidates who studied privately increased threefold every decade between 1910 and 1939, while the candidate numbers doubled in 20 years. The proportion of Ceylon University College students among candidates for the ULCE remained around 60%. The number of candidate numbers who studied at institutions other than the University College was relatively small as we shall see later. Although the number of graduates of the University College did not increase greatly between 1930 and 1939 (Table 6.9), increase in the successful candidate number in degree examinations is seen during the 1920's and 1930's in comparison with the 1910's.

Table 6.9: Students and graduates of Ceylon University College, and ULCE candidates and successful candidates, 1921-1939

Year	<u>Ceylon University College</u>		<u>ULCE Degrees</u>	
	No. of Students	No. of Graduates	No. of Candidates	No. of Passed
1921	166		30	20
1922	217		38	22
1923	262		60	36
1924	262		57	29
1925	256		86	37
1926	313		80	38
1927	279		86	40
1928	315		75	29
1929	338		77	49
1930	394	27	86	56
1931	355	35	83	49
1932	377	29	112	72
1933	417	36	120	67
1934	449	30	125	60
1935	539	33	135	64
1936	541	41	158	72
1937	586	35	161	79
1938	664	49	209	98
1939	629	65	195	109

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1921-22 - 1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Ceylon Administration Report, 1921-1939.

Candidate Number = presented number
 Include Second Medical (Part 1)

In any case, the Ceylon University College was the major institution at which students took the degree examinations of the ULCE. And the steady increase in the successful candidate number for the UCLE and the ULCE clearly shows that the scholarship policies were partly related to the increase. This implies that students at formal institutions with fee-paying had an advantage over private students, and the ULCE were gradually dominated by the students of formal institutions.

4-iii Ceylonese Students in Britain, 1900-1939

So far we have looked at the relation between the scholarships, the Ceylon University College, Colombo and external examinations. In this section, we will examine the Ceylonese students in Britain who were either government scholars with scholarships or private students. Although the records of the students abroad are limited, a certain trend is observable as the following table 6.10 shows, drawn from Ceylon Administrative Report 1900-1939,

According to these reports, 123 government scholars were sent to England between 1900 and 1939. Of these 123, 40 studied Arts, 29 Science, 21 Engineering, 9 Agriculture, 14 Maths, 9 Indo-Aryan and 1 is not clear. For the students other than the government scholars, records are available only from 1924. Between 1924 and 1939, 483 students studied in England. Of 483 students, 111 studied Engineering and related subjects, 108 Medicine including Dentistry and Sanitary Inspection, and 79 Law. In other words, 61.7% of the total private students took these three subjects. Thus we can see that very few private students studied science, education, agriculture, civil service examinations, forestry, maths. Indeed, the largest category outside of law, medicine and engineering are arts and commerce including economics and banking. The number of private students fell in 1929, and the numbers in the 1930's were not large except in 1937 and 1938, which may be explained by the World Depression. The reason why government scholars for engineering and agriculture ceased after 1932 and 1931 respectively is not clear.

Table 6.10: Student numbers and subjects studied in Britain, 1900-1939
(1900 - 1930)

Student Numbers in Britain				Subjects Studied															
Year	Gov. schol.	Priv. stud.	Total	Arts G P	Law G P	Medi G P	Scie G P	Engi G P	Edu G P	Agri G P	Civ Ser G P	Commer G P	Forest G P	Maths G P	Ind-Arya G P	Aeronat G P	Relig G P	Post Grad G P	
1900	1		1	1															
1901	1		1	1															
1902	1		1	1															
1903	1		1	1															
1904	1		1	1															
1905	1		1	1															
1906	1		1	1															
1907	2		2	1			1												
1908	2		2	1			1												
1909	2		2	1			1												
1910	2		2	1			1												
1911	2		2	1			1												
1912	2		2	1			1												
1913	2		2	1			1												
1914	2		2	1			1												
1915	2		2	1			1												
1916	2		2	1			1												
1917	2		2	1			1												
1918	2		2	1			1												
1919	2		2	1			1												
1920	3		3	1			1			1									
1921	3		3	1			1			1									
1922	2		2	1			1												
1923	5		5	1			1	2		1									
1924	5	39	44	1 5	6	15	1	2 9		1 1	1	1	1						
1925	5	48	53	1 4	4	16	1 2	2 12	4	1 2		2	1				1		
1926	5	48	53	1 8	7	15	1 2	2 9		1 2	1	4							
1927	5	45	50	1 4	6	10	3 2	15		1	3	2	2	1					
1928	6	53	59	1 5	9	11	1 3	2 17	2	1		2		1			2	2	
1929	5	25	30	1	4	9		2 2	5			3		2					
1930	6	16	22	1 1	4	5	1	3 2				1	1	1	1			1	

Table 6.10 continued

(1931-1939)

Student Numbers in Britain				Subjects Studied															
Year	Gov. schol.	Priv. stud.	Total	Arts G P	Law G P	Medi G P	Scie G P	Engi G P	Edu G P	Agri G P	Civ Ser G P	Commer G P	Forest G P	Maths G P	Ind-Arya G P	Aeronat G P	Relig G P	Post Grad G P	
1931	7	14	21	1 2	4	7	1	2		1				1 1	1				
1932	6	8	14	1 2	1	1	1	2 1	1				1	1 1	1				
1933	4	20	24	1	5	2	1 1	1	4			7		1	1				
1934	3	19	22	1	5	1	1	3	1		3	1		1 2	1		2		
1935	5	20	25	1 3	2	6	1	2	1		2	3		1	1	1		1	
1936	4	31	35	1 3	6	2	1 2	4		1	3	9		1	1	1			
1937	4	43	47	1 2	8	5	1	17	1	1	3	4		1	1 1	1			
1938	4	40	44	1 5	5	2	1 1	13	2	1	3	5	1	1 2	1				
1939	3	14	17	1	3	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	1					
	123	483	606	40 44	79	108	29 18	21 111	22	9 9	21	45	8	14 6	9 1	3	5	1 3	
%		100% (483)		9.1	16.4	22.4	3.7	23	4.6	1.9	4.3	9.3	1.7	1.2	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.6	

Source: Administration Report, Ceylon, 1900-1939 G = Governments scholars
P = Private scholars

Notes

Arts = Classics, History, Philosophy, Geography; Law: ; Medicine: Medicine, Sanitary inspectors course, Dentistry;
Education: General Education; Science: Science, Meteorology; Engineering: Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Architecture,
Printing Bookbinding; Agriculture:; Civil Service: ; Commerce: Commerce, Economics, Banking, Accounting, Management,
Business Methods; Forestry: ; Maths: ; Indo Aryan: Indo Aryan, Asian Language; Aeronautics: Postgraduate Course:

For the examination of the universities which Ceylonese students attended, we can obtain data from two sources: Senate Minutes, Appendix May 1928, for the year 1927-1928 (Table 3.4, in Chapter III), and the Universities Yearbook 1932-1940 (Table 6.11).

Data from the Senate Minutes show the importance of the University of London where 68% of the total Ceylonese students in the UK in 1927-28 studied at the University of London, and 14% or more students took a medical course. A large proportion of Ceylonese students studied at the University of London in the 1930's as the following table shows.

Table 6.11: Ceylon student numbers in the University of Cambridge and London

	1932 - 33	1933 - 34	1934 - 35	1935 - 36	1936 - 37	1937 - 38	1938 - 39	1939 - 40	1932 - 40
Cambridge Univ.	18							13	
London Univ.	69	61	55	56	66	69	74	29	479(66.4%)
(Univ.College)	(12)								
(Medical Sch.)	(29)	(26)	(22)	(22)	(22)				
Total	101	98	78	87	96	103	102	56	721(100%)

Source: Universities Yearbook, 1932-1940.

Note: Total indicates the total number of Ceylon students in the British universities and University Colleges of Great Britain and Ireland.

The large proportion of Ceylonese students at the University of London might be explained by the popularity of the London Matriculation Examination. This suggests that the role of the

ULCE was not only to confer degrees on those who studied in Ceylon but also to open up a route to students, to continue their studies in Britain at the University of London. In this way, the University of London is significant in the education of both external and internal students.

However, these records do not show how many students actually took their degrees while they studied in England. The next table 6.12 shows student numbers at University College, London, the University of Oxford, and three Inns of Courts, and the number of students who took degrees and qualifications at these institutions between 1900 and 1939. The student numbers at Medical Schools does not seem to appear in the table, but many law students can be seen. If we compare the number of students who took degrees and qualifications in England with those who were awarded degrees externally, a different tendency is observed.

The table 6.12 shows that the proportion of student numbers who obtained qualifications and degrees abroad and in Ceylon changed after the 1920's, although student numbers both in England and at home increased. Before 1910, more students obtained degrees or qualifications in Britain than through the ULCE, whereas the number of graduates of the University of London (external) is greater after 1920. During the 1930's, the successful candidate number in the ULCE increased to more than twice that of the previous decade, while the number of students who obtained degrees and qualifications in England remained the same. The increase of the successful

Table 6.12: Students awarded degrees and qualifications, University College, London, University of Oxford, 3 Inns of Courts, and ULCE candidate and successful candidates, 1900-1939

		1900-1909		1910-1919		1920-1929		1930-1939		Total	
		Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
Univ. College London		2		10		26		11		49	
Oxford											
	BA	4		9		18		17		48	
	LLB	4		5		9		2		20	
	BD	1				2		1		4	
	BSc			1				4		5	
	BSc(Ed)					2		3		5	
	BSc(Agr)							1		1	
	BLit							1		1	
	War Degree							2		2	
Total		12	(7)9	24	(11)15	51	(26)31	34	(24)31	121	(68)86
Gray's Inn		15		27		24		16		82	65
Lincoln's Inn		5		10		43		19		77	54
Middle Temple		13		24		34		21		92	60
Total		33		61		101		56		251	179
ULCE External Degrees											
	BA	1		21		132		375		529	
	BD	0		1		2		0		3	
	LLB	1		9		8		11		29	
	BSc	-		13		116		256		385	
	BSc(Eco)	-		-		2		16		18	
	BSc(Eng)	-		-		-		1		1	
	MA	-		-		-		2		2	
ULCE Total Degrees		2		44		260		661		967	
Second Med. Pt.1		-		12		63		44		119	

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Minutes of University College, London, 1900-1931.

University of Oxford, Register of Matriculations, 1900 - 1939-40

Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1901-1930 (Oxford)

Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1931-1950 (Oxford)

Gray's Inn Admissions & Calls etc. 1625-1900, 1901-1945.

The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol.III. Admissions from AD1894 to AD1956.

Bar Book 1893-1905 to 1929-1944.

Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Vol.II and III.

- (1) Number in () is the actual number of the students. As 17 students took more than 2 degrees, the actual number of students were less than the number of degrees conferred.
- (2) The real number of degrees obtained at University College, London is more than 49 as many students took more than one degree.

candidate number in the ULCE is probably explained by the establishment of University College, Colombo in 1921 and the availability of the BSc in the ULCE. With respect to Law, the Inns of Courts were the only places in England where it was possible to qualify as a barrister, but the majority of the BSc degrees were obtained through the ULCE.

4-iv Development of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon, 1882-1939

The first application for a Colonial Centre for the ULCE was made in respect of the Matriculation of June 1882, two years after the introduction of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations. The University of London Colonial Examinations were intended to offer a higher certificate than the Cambridge Junior or Senior Examinations,⁵ as we have seen previously.

The number of the candidate for the ULCE was not large before 1900 but increased steadily. For example, for 20 years between 1880 and 1899, the number of Mauritian candidates was five times larger than that of the Ceylon candidates.

1880 - 1899

candidate number

Ceylon	125
Mauritius	647

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1880-1900.

Towards the end of the 19th century when the Senate of the University of London communicated with the colonies through

the Colonial Office on discontinuance of the ULCE because of lack of academic motivation on the part of the colonial students, extra work caused by geographical distance with consequent time differences and small number of candidates, the Ceylon Governor requested the University to continue the examinations. (SM 193, 1900 Oct-Dec) The Secretary of the Colonial Office, supporting the situation of both Ceylon and Mauritius suggested to the Senate that the Matriculation Examinations should be held once a year instead of twice a year. Other examinations could be held once in two or three years in those islands rather than stopping the examinations altogether.

The University of London changed its view on Colonial Examinations after 1900, partly as a result of the request by Ceylon and Mauritius, and partly because it was aware of the role of a University in the Empire. The Senate's view of the Colonial Examinations changed: they were no longer seen as an unimportant activity "undertaken only as a temporary measure for the benefit of a few scattered students who have not at present any other means of obtaining a degree," (SM 396, 1905-6) but as promoting a positive education policy abroad in anticipation of a lasting influence which was distinguished from the educational detail. (ibid) Following this policy, a request from the Ceylon Board of Education for a substitute for Modern Languages in the Arts Curriculum was accepted by the Senate.

The Ceylon government had also begun to use the ULCE for the

purpose of developing higher education in Ceylon. The government no longer awarded English Scholarships on the results of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board of Examinations but on the results of the Intermediate Examinations of the ULCE. Later the standard for Government Scholarships was again raised from the Intermediate to the Degree Examinations. It is important to note that the Ceylon government stressed the value of English language as a Scholarship examination subject. For example, the Governor of Ceylon desired to make English as a subject for the Intermediate Science Pass Examination in view of the "general education in a Colony where English though not actually the native language is in course of becoming the adopted language of all the educated classes." (ibid) Raising the standard of the Scholarship Examination meant that more students would continue their education to a higher level. In the same way, making English a compulsory subject encouraged students to study English. Thus, the ULCE together with the scholarship awards were a means of expanding higher education in Ceylon.

After an inspection by Professor Osborne, an ex-professor of the University of London, it was agreed that Science Examinations would begin in the Colony in 1907 on condition that the Ceylon government would undertake to provide assistant examiners to supervise the practical examinations and report to the examiners.

Thus, at the base of the future examinations of the ULCE was the condition that the colonial government was to bear

expenses. The University of London, by then, was prepared to take local need and local conditions into consideration even if only in a limited sense. Future applications for Science examinations in the colonies followed Ceylon's pattern.

The increase in the candidate numbers in the Intermediate Science Pass Examinations between 1910 and 1919 and continued increase between 1920 and 1929 is evidence that the arrangement was successful. A similar result is also observed in the Intermediate Arts Examination as the following table 6.13 shows.

Table 6.13: Candidates and passed candidates in the Intermediate Arts and Science (Pass)

	1900 - 1909			1910 - 1919			1920 - 1929		
	candidate number	Passed candidate number		candidate number	Passed candidate number		candidate number	Passed candidate number	
Intermediate Arts	47	21	44.7%	344	111	32.3%	238	412	33.3%
Intermediate Science (Pass)	10	5	50%	195	88	45.1%	532	214	40.2%

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915 - 1930-31.

The increase in the candidate numbers after the 1920's will be also partly accounted for by the establishment of the University College, Colombo in 1921. However, the above table also shows that the pass rate was not improved after the establishment of the University College, Colombo. The

following table 6.14 shows the number of students at the University College and the number of candidates for the ULCE in the 1920's.

Table 6.14: Students at Ceylon University College, Colombo, Intermediate and degree candidates and ULCE total candidates

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
1. Students at University College, Colombo	166	217	262	262	256	313	278
2. ULCE Intermediate and degree candidate numbers	189	214	253	269	333	383	350
3. ULCE total candidates numbers	673	683	752	(725)	687	651	688

1. Source: The Ceylon Administration Report, 1921-1927.

2 & 3 Source: Compilation from the Minutes of the Senate, 1921-22 - 1928 Oct-1929 May

Note 1: Figures 2 and 3 include candidates who took subsidiary subjects only.

2: ULCE total candidate numbers in 1924 do not include the candidate number of Intermediate Law.

The above table shows a steady increase in Intermediate and degree candidate numbers while total candidate numbers remain almost the same.

Following the agreement in 1905, the BSc Pass Examination started in 1916. The candidate numbers and passed candidate numbers increased sharply during the period between 1920 and 1929 as the Table 6.15 shows.

**Table 6.15: Candidates and successful candidates,
BSc 1910-1929**

	1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929	
	Candidate	Passed	Candidate	Passed
BSc General	22	13	153	94
Subsidiary subject only			4	4

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1911-12 - 1930-31.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1930-31.

Thus, the regulations for the ULCE were gradually relaxed, despite the Senate intention of limiting the Colonial Examinations in such a way that

"[N]either the Matriculation Examination in Botany and in Drawing, nor the Honours Examinations in Arts and Laws, nor any Examinations in the Faculty of Medicine, can be held out of the United Kingdom."

(SM, Regulations for the Examinations, 96, 1906-7)

The examination for First Medical started in 1910. Although the candidate numbers were not large in the 1910's, the candidate numbers and the passed candidate numbers increased substantially in the following decade. Accordingly the candidate numbers for the Second Medical Examination Part I increased as the following Table 6.16 shows.

Botany was also sanctioned for the Intermediate Examinations in Arts, Science and for other Intermediate Examinations in 1920. The BSc Honours Examination in Geology was accepted in 1922 by the Senate of the University of London.

Table 6.16: Candidates and passed candidates for the First and Second Medical (Part 1), 1910-1929

	1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929	
	candidate number	Passed candidate number	candidate number	Passed candidate number
First Medical (entire)	47	24	123	65
(one subject)	9	8	25	16
Second Medical (Part I)	16	12	(84)*	63

* Candidate number in 1928 is not included.

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1910-11 - 1930-31.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1930-31.

The reason for the University allowing the above subjects which had not been permitted in 1905 could be that the results of the conduct of practical examinations in Ceylon had been satisfactory. In 1922, subjects which involved practical work such as the BA in Geography, BSc Honours in Chemistry and in Zoology were also permitted for external students in Ceylon, despite the policy of the Senate that only Honours Examinations in subjects which involved written work only might be held in the colonies. (SM, 3383, 1922-23)

Honours Examinations in Botany and Physics were also considered by the University of London once again from the viewpoint of the botanical problems of the principal industries in Ceylon. The University of London had repeatedly refused to validate the above degrees because of the difficulty in assessing the botanical laboratory and the issue of capable and well qualified staff. However after a

discussion between the Principal of Ceylon University College, Colombo and the Registrar of the University of London (SM, 3698, 1926-27) the BSc Special Examination replaced the BSc Honours Examination in 1926. Under this amendment, the BSc Special Examination in Botany was sanctioned for a period of three years from 1926.

Apart from subjects entailing practical work Ceylon required additional subjects from time to time and negotiated the conditions with the Senate in order to encourage Ceylon students to take the ULCE. For example, Sanskrit was substituted for the French and German papers for the Intermediate Examination in Arts in 1906. Tamil was accepted for the Intermediate Arts Examination in Ceylon in 1920. Pali was also added to the list of subjects for the Intermediate Examination in Arts, BA Pass Examination and MA Examination in 1922. (SMM 1867 & 2787, 1922) Although the University charged special fees for special papers, the Senate recommended that

"when the normal entry to the Matriculation Examination in a Colony exceeds 100, one special optional language in that Colony may be included in the list of subjects which may be taken without any additional fee."

This was decided on an enquiry from the Governor of Ceylon whether the special fee payable by candidates who offer Tamil at the Matriculation Examination should be waived altogether, or that, at least, the charge should be limited to the actual cost of the examination in this subject. (SMM 2667-69, 1919-20)

Withdrawal from examinations and re-entering under certain

conditions was also to be treated as it was in the case of candidates in Great Britain. (SMM 1655, 1920-21; 4446, 1926-27) The Special fee for Sinhalese and Tamil at Intermediate and Final Pass Examinations in Arts, and Sanskrit and Pali with Early Indian History at the Intermediate Examinations, and Pali as an Optional Language was abolished in 1922 and 1923. (SMM 4457, 1922-23; 1696, 1923-24) This was the result of a statement by the Director of Education in Ceylon that the special fee of five guinees had been prohibitive to the Ceylon student and a larger number of candidates would offer these languages if the extra fee was abolished. (SM, 4456, 1922-23) Thus, it can be seen that the Ceylon government tried to present the ULCE in accessible forms to the Ceylon students and the University of London responded to the Ceylonese requirements.

However, the following cases show that the Colonial Examinations were still intended for the English speaking students however much the colonial examinations were amended. For example, the North Ceylon Educational Association stressed Tamil as a living language and suggested that

"the questions for the examinations be all in Tamil (except translation) without the intervention of English, and they be not different in kind from those set in the prescribed English text-books."

(SM, 3653, 1923-24)

On this request, the Senate recommended on June 20, 1923, that the Senate

"do not see their way to placing Tamil when offered as a subject at Examinations conducted by the University of London on a basis different to that of other modern languages." (SM, 3654, 1923-24)

This recommendation was based on the report of the Board of Studies and the report of the External Council whose view was that

"so long as London degrees are awarded to Ceylon students these must be awarded on substantially the same basis as they are awarded to English students, and must preserve the fundamental conception of the degree as a degree of an English-speaking University."

(SM, 3653, 1923-24)

Similarly, a request for modifications in the syllabus of the MA Examination in History in Ceylon was not granted. The request was to substitute "sources of Ceylon History" for "sources of English History", and to substitute "in the language test of the two languages pertinent to such a study, viz., Pali and Elu, or alternatively, one or both of these together with French." The prescribed languages were, French, German and Italian; two of these had to be taken. (SM, 1413, 1925-26) The explanation for the rejection was that there would be a considerable increase in costs even if the amendments in the syllabus were entirely in accordance with the existing practice of the University. (SM, 1414, 1925-26) The reason given is reasonable, yet not convincing as the basic policy of the Senate on the Colonial Examinations was to impose any extra costs on the colonial candidates. Perhaps the explanation is that Ceylon History was not a part of traditional British history although the History of Ceylon had been taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies since 1918.

In the 1930's the regulations of the ULCE were further modified. Firstly, additional papers were substituted for

the viva voce, mainly for MA Examinations in English, Philosophy, Indo-Aryan, Education and Geography. Secondly, French and German papers in Science subjects at the BA and BSc became optional except for BA Honours in Geography. However the language questions in Honours Geography were kept not as a test of the ability to translate but because "the advanced study of France or Germany could not or should not be undertaken without the reading of original texts in the language of the country." (SM, 2894, 1934-35) Thirdly, in 1935, Zoology, Botany and Biology papers at the Intermediate Science level were modified to make them more suitable for overseas students. Fourthly, a part of the Intermediate Arts Examinations was used as a qualifying examination for the Ceylon Teachers' Diploma. (SMM 257-259, 786-787, 1236, 1647-1649, 1937-8)

A change of the relation between the University of London and the colonies was also seen during and after the 1910's. In 1920, it was decided that the correspondence relating to Colonial Examinations in Ceylon and Jamaica was to be conducted directly between the University and the Director of Education in Ceylon instead of through the Colonial Office. The decision was made following the decision on the self-governing dominions. It seems that the expansion of the ULCE created more work for the Colonial Office and that it could be expected that the Ceylon University College students would become the majority for the candidates for the ULCE. Then administrative work could be done through the Ceylon University College.

Yet, modifications which had been introduced to encourage Ceylon students were abolished in order to ensure parity or standards with the English students. For example, the scholarships which enabled Ceylon students to study in England were to be awarded not on the result of a modified Intermediate Examination but on the result of a Final Pass Examination or of an Honours Examination without modification. (SM, 289, 1925-26) Language questions at the BSc Special Examination, Intermediate Science, and BSc General Examinations had to be answered on the same basis as they were by candidates in England. (SMM 1072-1073, 3419-3421, 3522, 1936-37) Thus, on the one hand the Ceylon Government required the University of London to modify the examinations to suit the Ceylon students, and on the other hand abolished the modifications and restored the original forms.

4-v Summary

The above description shows a process of the development in higher education in Ceylon under the auspices of the University of London. In the 1930's, the standard of the Ceylonese students was equal to any other students taking the University of London Colonial Examinations, or the University of London internal students. However, this has other implications at the same time. The University of London degrees as degrees of English speaking universities exemplified a concept of English degrees. The University of London wanted to ensure that external and internal degrees shared the same status. However, taking English university

examinations excluding subjects directly related to the colony's need prevented colonial students from studying their own culture and its developmental needs.

Further, the fact that Ceylonese themselves terminated concessions made in favour of the Ceylon students shows a contradiction in the Ceylonese: on the one hand they emphasized subjects related to Ceylon, on the other hand they wanted to be assessed in equal terms with British students or students in other parts of the world. This was related to a necessity for the Ceylonese to obtain qualifications equal to the British administrators in order to hold a position in administration and enter into higher professions under British rule.

Yet, this description of the development of the ULCE does not show the consequences of the ULCE. In the next chapter, we will examine 967 graduates with 119 successful candidates for the Second Medical Examination (Part 1) who obtained their qualifications through the University of London Colonial Examinations between 1900 and 1939.

Notes - Chapter VI

1. Jayasuriya states that the Colombo Academy was called the Royal College after 1881, (Jayasuriga, 1976:285) but according to Sumathipala, "In 1880, the Academy was renamed as Royal College". (Sumathipala, 1968:35) The Governor's reports in 1880 and 1881 do not mention neither the Colombo Academy nor the Royal College. (Colonial Report: Ceylon for 1880 and 1881 in 1882 [C.3218] XLIV.1 and in 1882 [C.3388.] XLIV.315.)
2. "The intense rivalries that existed between the petty, feudal Sinhalese kings, each of whom controlled a position of the Island at the time of the Portuguese arrival, aided the Europeans in the accomplishment of their aims." (Singer, 1964:22).
3. In 1834 the first School Commission was appointed in Ceylon, with subordinate Committees in other cities such as Kandy, Galle, Jaffna and Trincomalee.

"The duty of the Principal Commission at Colombo 'was to superintend the school establishment generally throughout the island and to submit to the government the measures they considered it expedient to adopt for the establishment of efficient schools for the extension of education'." (Sumathipala, 1968:12)
4. "The Ceylon Authorities, dissatisfied as they were with the Cambridge examinations, wished to foster closer relations with London." (Fernando, 1968:89).
5. "Mr. Howard, the Principal of the Royal College, recommended the Matriculation of London University was superior to that of the Cambridge examinations in scope and extent. The opinion was supported by the Attorney General, the Director of Public Instruction." (Chandrasegaram, 1962:117).

CHAPTER VII

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS, RACE AND EMPLOYMENT IN CEYLON

1. Introduction

So far we have given a general account of the development of the ULCE in Ceylon, in particular the influence of the ULCE on higher education. We have shown that the introduction of the ULCE was related to the re-organisation of the Colombo Academy into the Royal College in 1881. The ULCE were also adopted as the basis of selection for the University Scholarship after 1907 replacing the University of Cambridge Local Examinations, and the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations. After the establishment of the Ceylon University College, Colombo in 1921, a strong link between the University College, Scholarship awards and the ULCE was seen. After the 1920's, the number of graduates of the University of London (external) significantly increased while the number of Ceylon students in Britain remained the same. This suggests that the role of the ULCE became important in Ceylon's political and social life.

In this chapter we shall return to some of the issues raised in the review of the literature. The literature suggests that Sinhalese were under represented in the government service whereas, Tamils and Burghers were said to be over represented. There is also the general question of communalism in the nationalism movement. In this chapter we shall provide evidence highly relevant to both of these

issues raised by the review of the literature.

We were able to collect a list of names of 967 Ceylonese graduates and 119 successful candidates for the second Medical Examination (Part I) who obtained qualifications through the University of London Colonial Examinations between 1900 and 1939. The names were obtained from the Minutes of the Senate of the University of London between 1900 and 1940-41 and London University Gazette between 1915-16 and 1940-41. The occupational location of the sample was obtained through scrutiny of Ceylon Civil List for 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950. Ceylon Civil List for 1953 will also be used later. It will be remembered that we sampled every 10 years because of the limitation of time for a more extensive study and 1953 was chosen because of comparable data available from the Gold Coast. Although the sampling of graduates every ten years does not give a complete picture since those who were employed and left between these years do not appear, a general tendency of employment in the government service may emerge. Thus a list of names of those who obtained degrees or the Second Medical Examination (Part I) through the ULCE, enables us to form a sample of the Ceylon graduate numbers of the University of London (external) between 1900-1939 by race and by subject (Table 7.14). The scrutiny of Ceylon Civil Lists enables us to locate those graduates who were in the government service, which is Table 7.15.

If we can establish the racial origin of these candidates we may be able to throw some light on the proposition that the

Sinhalese were under represented in the government service, whereas Tamils and Burghers were considered to be over represented. We shall first outline our method of identifying racial origins and we shall comment on the reliability of this method. After allocating the graduate sample of 967 and 119 successful candidates for the second Medical Examination (Part 1) and government servants of the University of London graduates (external) to race groups, we shall examine the relation between race and employment, in the government service.

Our second sample is based upon the names of graduates obtained from Ceylon Directory of 1953. And we shall use the same method to identify the racial origins of these graduates.

2. Identification of Race Groups

A major problem arose over the allocation of the graduates and the successful candidates for the Second Medical (Part 1) to race groups. We considered that the only criterion of allocation available to us was the name of the graduates. Three individuals allocated graduates to race groups on the basis of the list containing all the successful candidates' names. The coders were all Sinhalese and their occupations are a government administrator of Sri Lanka, a headmaster of a Sri Lanka school, and a postgraduate student of the University of London. One coder is a male and the other two females. Their ages vary from 25 to 50 years. All three coders were informed of the nature of the research, but the

coders were not informed of the object of their analysis; to investigate the distribution of races to occupations.

A fundamental issue is raised by this method. If a difference emerges between the three coders, we are unable to determine who is right and who is wrong. If there is total agreement, we are still unable to determine whether this implies a correct allocation or common bias of the Sinhalese coders. It is within these constraints that we shall now present the degree of agreement and difference in these coders' allocation of names to race groups. In Table 7.14 will be found the raw data. Here we shall give the general conclusions.

2-i Sample of Graduates taken from Minutes of the Senate and London University Gazette

1. Allocation of Sinhalese

If we examine the total, the three coders vary as follows, 514, 475 and 512. The maximum variation is 39 for which coder 2 is responsible.

2. Allocation of Tamils

In the case of Tamils, the variation is between 389, 380 and 390. The maximum variation of 10 is the responsibility of coder 2.

3. Allocation of Muslims

The variation here lies between 17, 22 and 16 with coder 2 again responsible for the major difference.

4. Allocation of Burghers

The variation here is between 84, 89 and 32. The maximum variation here is the responsibility of coder 3.

5. Allocation of Europeans

The variation here lies between 62, 104 and 42.

6. The numbers for other categories are too small for consideration. We should note that the number categorised uncertain for coder 1 is 15, coder 2 is 12, and coder 3 is 91.

It may be relevant that coder 3 is a post graduate student. On the whole for Sinhalese and Tamils there is a relatively high degree of agreement between coders and the same for Muslims. In the case of Burghers, there is a high degree of disagreement as in the case of Europeans. It is reasonable to infer that the major difficulty arose out of distinguishing between Burghers and Europeans on the basis of names.

The analysis which follows concentrates on Sinhalese and Tamils who together form over 80% of our total sample and there is relatively little disagreement between three coders on the allocations to these groups. Thus we can have some confidence in the analysis providing that we bear in mind the constraints we referred to earlier.

2-ii Sample of Government Servants drawn from Ceylon Civil List

We consulted the Ceylon Civil List for the years of 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950, and traced those graduates and the successful candidates for the Second Medical (Part 1) who were named in the Civil List, that is who were for some time in the government service. We were able to trace, in this way, the occupations in the government service of 367 out of

the total number of 1086. We give here the agreement between coders in the allocation of graduates to race groups for the sub-sample of government servants. (Table 7.15)

1. Allocation of Sinhalese

The variation between the three coders for this allocation is 209, 193 and 207. The major variation appears to come from coder 2, but is only of a difference of 16.

2. Allocation of Tamils

The variation between the three coders is 101, 100 and 104. The difference is only 4.

3. Allocation of Muslims

The variation is 3 and 4.

4. Allocation of Burghers

The variation is 32, 35 and 18. The coder 3 appears to be responsible.

5. Allocation of Europeans

The maximum variation is between 19, 36 and 13.

The pattern of agreement for the sample of government servants is similar to the pattern of agreement found in the total sample.

We can be thus confident in our comparison between Sinhalese and Tamils as there is very little difference in allocations of government servants to Tamils and the maximum difference between three samples for Sinhalese is 16 (7.7% of 209).

In the analysis follows the allocations provided by coder 1

(Sample 1) will be used.

3. University of London Colonial Examinations, Government Service and Race

3-i Introduction

As has been mentioned previously, the number of Ceylonese senior government servants increased relatively early in time in comparison with the number of indigenous senior government servants in other colonies. Ceylonization was achieved to a great extent in Law and Medical Departments before the Independence of the colony. One of the factors which led to the Ceylonization of the government service was that many Ceylonese had the required qualifications. As we have described previously, Ceylon University College was founded in 1921 and the University of London Colonial Examinations were a part of the College courses.

We will now look at the relationship between the University of London Colonial Examinations and the Ceylonization of the government service and we will examine the usefulness of ULCE qualifications for entering government service. For this purpose, a limited comparison with other educational qualifications will also be made. Finally the racial background of the successful candidates who obtained degrees of the ULCE will be examined.

3-ii Government Service and Graduates

Table 7.1 shows the number of those who obtained their degrees and professional qualifications in Law and Medicine in various institutions between 1900 and 1939 and the number

Table 7.1: Government servants with degrees or professional qualifications, in Civil Lists

	B A	LLB	B D	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MB MS	MA	Post Graduate	Total	Second Medical (Pt.I)
<u>External</u>											
London:1900-1939											
Graduate Number	529	29	3	385	18	1		2		967	119
Government Servant	126	8	1	166	3	1		1		306	61
	23.8%	27.6%		43.1%	16.7%					31.7%	51.3%
	41.2%	2.6%	0.3%	54.3%	1.0%	0.3%		0.3%		100%	
<u>Internal</u>											
London:1900-1931											
Graduate Number	9	2		14		5	11		8	49	
Government Servant	4	1		8		3	9		7	32	
										65.3%	
Oxford:1900-1939											
Graduate Number	48	20	4	8	5			1		86 (68)	
Government Servant	14	3	1							18	
										26.5%	
Gray's Inn:1900-1939											
Number Qualified		65								65	
Government Servant		21								21	
										32.3%	
Lincoln's Inn:1900-1939											
Number Qualified		54								54	
Government Servant		12								12	
										22.2%	
Middle Temple:1900-1939											
Number Qualified		60								60	
Government Servant		11								11	
										18.3%	

of those who appeared in the Civil Lists of 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950. We shall now examine the proportion of graduates external and internal who obtained positions in the government service.

3-ii-1 Graduates (external)

Among 967 who obtained degrees through the ULCE between 1900 and 1939 (excluding the number of those who passed the Second Medical, Part I), 306 or 31.7% of 967 entered government service. If we consider type of degrees taken, it is clear that the number of BSc graduates who entered the government service is more than the number of BA graduates. The proportion of those who passed the Second Medical (Part I) and who entered the government service was also large (51.3%). We will discuss medical qualification later as the Second Medical Examination (Part I) did not qualify candidates to practice medicine.

Table 7.1 (from previous page)

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900 - 1940-41,
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41
Ceylon Civil List 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.
 University of Oxford, Register of Matriculations, 1900 to 1940-41.
Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1901-1930, Oxford.
Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900, 1931-1950, Oxford.
 Gray's Inn Admissions & Calls etc., 1625-1900 and 1901-1945.
 The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol.III.
 Admissions from AD 1894 to AD 1956.
 Bar Book 1893-1905 to 1929-1944.
Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Vols. II and III.

Note: Total number in brackets (68) at Oxford indicates the real number of graduates.
 86 indicates the number of degrees obtained.

3-ii-2 Graduates (internal)

The proportion of government servants who obtained their degrees or professional qualification in England (internal students) is shown in the same table.

Out of 49 internal graduates of University College, London between 1900 and 1931, 32 graduates or 65.3% appeared in the Civil Lists. The proportion of those entering the government service of the graduates of the University College, London is clearly very high. Conversely the proportion of graduates of the University of Oxford who entered the government service is low. Out of 86 who graduated at Oxford between 1900 and 1939, only 18 or 26.5% appeared in the Civil Lists. If we now consider subjects taken, BSc, BSc (Engineering) and Medicine were popular at the University College, London and about two thirds of these graduates entered the government service. However, at Oxford, it was the BA and LLB degrees which were popular.

If we now consider Law and Medicine out of 179 who qualified as barristers at three Inns of Courts between 1900 and 1939, 44 or 25.6% entered the government service and a high proportion of those with medical qualifications irrespective of external and internal entered the government service.

Thus, although the proportion of the number of graduates who entered the government service does yield differences, the differences among institutions where degrees or professional qualifications obtained is small except in the case of the

University College, London graduates. It follows that the qualifications obtained through the ULCE were as acceptable as other qualifications obtained in other universities or institutions. It should be pointed out that two thirds of those who qualified did not enter the government service.

3-ii-3 Graduates and Government Service (1953)

~ In this section we shall examine the educational background of government servants in order to see whether a relative preference for internal and external graduates exists. If it does, in what department of the government service is such a preference manifest? We have confined our sample to the 1953 Civil List as later we wish to examine the occupations of graduates who were not employed in the government service and for this purpose, our only source is the Ceylon Directory 1953. Further, although the Ceylon Civil List does not differentiate between Europeans and Ceylonese, government servants in 1953 seem to have been almost wholly Ceylonese, after independence in 1947.

We will now give the details from the 1953 Ceylon Civil List as these refer to those who graduated or received professional qualifications. Table 7.2 shows the educational background of government servants in the Civil List 1953 and initially employed before 1939.

Table 7.2: Educational background of government servants in the Ceylon Civil List 1953 and initially employed before 1939

London	Cam	Ox	Other univ.	Medical Qualif.	Law	Total	Without degrees or not clear	Total
(1)								
172	14	3	42	263	22	516	150	666
33.3%	2.7%	0.60%	8.1%	51.0%	4.3%	100%		

Source: Ceylon Civil List, 1953.

- Note: 1 The distribution between internal and external of the University of London graduates is not clear in the Ceylon Civil List, 1953. However, it seems that the number of civil servants who obtained degrees internally appears to be much smaller than the number of civil servants who obtained degrees externally.
- 2 Initially, medical qualifications were obtained in the Ceylon Medical College, but the majority of students also obtained additional qualifications abroad.
- 3 Cam: Cambridge, Ox: Oxford.

Out of 666 who were in the 1953 List and also employed before 1939, 516 had degrees or professional qualifications such as medical doctor or barrister. The table shows that the number of University of London graduates including external and internal is 172, 33.3% out of 516. This is very high in comparison with graduates from other universities. Although the List does not differentiate between external and internal, it seems that the majority of the 172 London graduates were those who obtained degrees externally as the number of students who came to London seems to be small as we have already seen. This confirms that the ULCE were useful as qualifications for the government service.

Out of 22 barristers in the List, 11 were graduates of Oxford, Cambridge and University College, London and 2 were external London graduates as the following table 7.3 shows.

Table 7.3: Previous education of the barristers in the
Ceylon Civil List of 1953

	Gray's Inn	Lincoln's Inn	Middle Temple
	10	5	7
London external LLB/BA		1	1
London internal BA		1	
Oxford BA	1		2
Cambridge LLB/BA	3	1	3
KC - QL	6	2	1

Source: Ceylon Civil List, 1953.

This shows that the ULCE contributed less to the Ceylonization of the Law Department.

In the case of the Medical Department where Ceylonization was achieved at an early stage, 263 were employed with medical qualifications before 1939. As has been mentioned, although 119 Ceylonese were successful in passing the Second Medical Examination (Part I) of the ULCE between 1900 and 1939, they needed further professional qualifications in order to practice as a qualified medical doctor. This suggests that the ULCE in Medicine were basic for the medical profession. In this connection, the following table (Table 7.4) shows the number of doctors and places where medical qualifications were obtained. Among 263 qualified doctors in the 1953 Ceylon Civil List and who were employed before 1939, 68 or 25.9% had only Ceylon's qualifications. The other 195 or 74.1% had

overseas qualifications in addition to the Ceylon's qualification or without the Ceylon's qualifications.

Table 7.4: Medical qualifications of government servants listed in the Civil List 1953 and initially employed before 1939

Place where qualifications obtained	Number of Civil Servants		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Ceylon	65	2	1
Ceylon and other institutions	141	7	
Institutions abroad	46	1	
Total	252	10	1

- (1) Department of Health
- (2) Department of Quarentine
- (3) Department of Indigenous Medicine

Source: Ceylon Civil List, 1953.

3-ii-4 Government Service and Graduates: Summary

We shall consider here only the relation between the graduates, internal and external, and employment in the government service. Our major finding is that in general there is a marked difference in the occupations of graduates (internal) of the British universities and the University of London graduates (external). Ceylon students who studied in the UK institutions, University College, London, the University of Oxford and the three Inns of Courts were more likely to take Law and Medicine, whereas the external students were more likely to read for the BA and BSc degrees. Of considerable interest is the finding that, of the sample of external graduates, more BSc graduates entered the

government service than BA graduates. Further if we compare internal students to University College, London and the University of Oxford who entered the government service, it is clear that a much higher proportion of graduates of University College, London entered the government service than internal students of the University of Oxford. A further difference was found between Oxford and London in the case of choice of subjects studied. On the whole, London graduates read for Science and Medical degrees, whereas Oxford graduates read Arts and Law degrees. The analysis on the 1953 Civil List confirms that external graduates were much more likely to enter the government service than the internal graduates.

Our finding that ULCE played an important role in providing qualifications, especially the BSc for government servants is particularly important as the existing literature on colonial education suggests that technical development was generally neglected in colonies. Ceylon was one of the few colonies where the BSc examinations were available and the qualifications seem to be related to employment. In the case of the Medical Department, the ULCE were a part of the professional qualifications, but at the same time further professional qualifications were necessary. With respect to the Law Department, the ULCE were less important for the Ceylonization of that department.

3-iii Race and ULCE

So far we have examined the relation between employment in

the government service, and internal and external graduates. Here we shall examine in some detail the relationship between race and the ULCE. Table 7.5 shows the proportion of the various races to the total ^{population} proportion of Ceylon. Table 7.6 shows the number of graduates of the ULCE according to degrees and races between 1900 and 1939 based upon the sample of 1086 obtained from the Minutes of the Senate, London University Gazette, which were identified by coder 1.

Table 7.5: Population by race in 1931

	Number	Proportion
Sinhalese	3,473,030	65.5%
Tamils	1,417,477	26.7%
Muslims	325,913	6.1%
Burghers and Eurasians	32,315	0.6%
Europeans	9,153	0.2%
Malayans	15,977	0.3%
Others	32,564	0.6%
Unspecified	442	0
Total	5,306,871	100%

Source: 1931 Census: Quoted in Administration Reports Ceylon, Part I, Q5, 1939.

It is important first to consider the proportion of the various races to the total population of Ceylon which is given in the Table 7.5. This table shows that the Sinhalese make up nearly two thirds of the population, whereas Tamils represent just over one quarter of the population.

If we now look at Table 7.6, this shows 967 Ceylonese passed degree examinations and 119 passed the Second Medical Examination (Part I) between 1900 and 1939. The Sinhalese,

Table 7.6: University of London graduates (external)
by race 1900 - 1939

Degree	Years	S	T	M	B	E	M	A	I	U	T
BA	1900-1909									1	1
	1910-1919	12	2	1	3	3					21
	1920-1929	67	44	3	7	11					132
	1930-1939	195	106	9	36	23	1			5	375
	Total	274	152	13	46	37	1				529
	%	51.8	28.7	2.5	8.7	7.0	0.2			1.6	100
LLB	1900-1909									1	1
	1910-1919	4	2	1		1				1	9
	1920-1929	1	4	-	2	1					8
	1930-1939	5	5	-	1						11
	Total	10	11	1	3	2				2	29
	%	34.5	39.9	3.4	10.4	6.9				6.9	100
BD	1910-1919					1					
	1920-1929	1				1					2
	Total	1				2					3
BSc	1910-1919	3	9			1					13
	1920-1929	47	52		5	8		1		3	116
	1930-1939	95	135		16	9				1	256
	Total	145	196		21	18		1		4	385
	%	37.7	50.9		5.5	4.7		0.2		1.0	100
BSc(Eco)	1920-1929	-	2								2
	1930-1939	7	1	2	3			1	1	1	16
	Total	7	3	2	3			1	1	1	18
BSc(Eng)	1930-1939	1								1	
	Total	1									1
MA	1930-1939	1								1	2
	Total	1								1	2
Second Exami- nation MD	1900-1909										
	1910-1919	8	2		2						12
	1920-1929	43	14	1	3		1			1	63
	1930-1939	24	11		6	3					44
	Total	75	27	1	11	3	1			1	119
	%	63.1	22.7	0.8	9.3	2.5	0.8			0.8	100
Total		439	362	16	73	59	1	2	1	14	967
(Without MD) %		45.4	37.4	1.0	7.6	5.1	0.8	0.2	0.1	1.4	100
Total		514	389	17	84	62	2	2	1	15	1086
(With MD) %		47.3	35.8	1.6	7.7	5.7	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.4	100

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Note: S= Sinhalese E=European T= Tamil U= Uncertain

Ma= Malay Mu= Muslim A= Afghan T= Total

B= Burgher I= Indian MD= Second Medical Exam.(I)

65.5% of the total population, are under represented for all degrees especially for BSc. (Numbers are too small for comparison for LLB, BD, BSc (Econ), BSc (Eng), MA. However the Sinhalese approach proportional representation for medicine followed by the BA. Tamils, 26.7% of the total population achieve proportional representation for the BA, but are grossly over represented for the BSc and approach proportional representation for Medicine. Burghers are only 0.6% of the total population but are over represented for the BA, BSc and medicine although the numbers are relatively low. In the case of Europeans, 0.2% of the population, the numbers are really too small for comparison for most of degrees except BA and BSc and for these degrees they are over represented.

Perhaps the major difference occurs when we examine the relationship between type of degree and race. It is very clear that the Sinhalese move to the BA degree and medicine. This move on the part of the Sinhalese shows progressive increase with the exception of medicine across the period between 1900 and 1939. Tamils present a very different picture. Tamils move predominantly towards the BSc. Although the numbers for Burghers are small, we can see that where the figures are relatively high the movement is away from science and towards the BA. The Burgher pattern despite the small numbers is similar to that of the Sinhalese. In the case of the Europeans, we again have a very small number, but there are signs of a relative movement towards the BA and away from the BSc. Thus, Sinhalese, Burghers, and Europeans move in a similar direction. That is away from the BSc and towards the

BA degree. We shall discuss the significance of these movements later. The major findings are the over representation of Tamils and Burghers, and the movement of Tamils towards the BSc. Indeed the Tamils are the only race to move predominantly towards the BSc. This suggests that Tamils began specialization through education very early.

3-iv Race, Government Service and the ULCE

We shall now look at the proportion of graduates in the government service between 1900 and 1939 according to race. Our discussion will be based on Tables 7.7 and 7.8. Table 7.7 shows the number of government servants by race who passed the University of London degrees (external). Table 7.8 is essentially a summary table which will enable us to make the following comparisons for the BA and BSc degree, (1) the race proportion for each degree, (2) the race percentage of government servants for each degree, (3) the percentage of graduates for each degree who became government servants. In the discussion which follows, we will be referring to Table 7.7 and 7.8.

We can see from the table 7.7 that it is only possible to consider the figures for the BA, BSc and medicine as the figures for the other subjects are too small. The Sinhalese predominate over other race proportions of government servants. Tamils, on the whole, average 28.8% of government servants. The figures for Burghers and Europeans are small. We shall now confine our comparison to BA and BSc degrees as they account for 94.5% of all degrees.

Table 7.7: Government servants with University of London degrees (external) by race, 1900-1939

Degree	Years	S	T	M	B	E	M	A	I	U	T
BA	1900-1909	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1910-1919	5	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	9
	1920-1929	23	14	1	3	5	-	-	-	-	46
	1930-1939	44	16	1	6	3	1	-	-	-	71
	Total	72	30	3	12	9	1	-	-	-	126
	%	57.2	23.8	2.4	9.5	7.1					100
LLB	1910-1919	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	1920-1929	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
	1930-1939	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Total	5	2		1						8
BD	1920-1929	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total	1									1
BSc	1900-1909	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1910-1919	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
	1920-1929	31	14	-	3	5	-	-	-	1	54
	1930-1939	56	38	-	9	3	-	-	-	1	107
	Total	89	55	-	12	8	-	-	-	2	166
	%	53.6	33.2	-	7.2	4.8	-	-	-	1.2	100
BSc(Eco)	1930-1939	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Total	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
BSc(Eng)	1930-1939	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total	1									1
MA	1930-1939	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Second Exami- nation MD(P.I)	1900-1909										
	1910-1919	5	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8
	1920-1929	21	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	31
	1930-1939	13	5	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	22
	Total	39	13	-	7	1	-	-	-	1	61
	%	64.0	21.3	-	11.5	1.6	-	-	-	1.5	100
<u>Total</u>											
Total		170	88	3	25	17	1	-	-	2	306
(Without MD) %		55.6	28.8	0.9	8.2	5.9	-	-	-	0.6	100
Total		209	101	3	32	19	-	-	-	3	367
(With MD) %		57.0	27.5	0.8	8.7	5.2	-	-	-	0.8	100

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Ceylon Civil List, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

Note: S= Sinhalese E=European T= Tamil U= Uncertain

Ma= Malay Mu= Muslim A= Afghan T= Total

B= Burgher I= Indian MD= Second Medical Exam.(I)

Table 7.8: Proportion of BA and BSc graduates and government servants by race 1900-1939
and race representation in the total population (1931)

		Sinhalese	Tamil	Muslim	Burgher	European	Malay	Afghan	Indian	Uncertain	Total
Population		65.5%	26.7%	6.18%	0.6%	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%		100%	
BA	Number of graduates	274	152	13	46	37	1			1	529
	race proportion	51.8%	28.7%	2.5%	8.7%	7.0%	0.2%			1.1%	100%
	No. of govern. servants	72	30	3	12	9					126
	race proportion	57.2%	23.8%	2.4%	9.5%	7.1%					100%
	% of the graduates in government service	(26.3)	(19.7)	(23.1)	(26.7)	(24.3)					(23.8)
BSc	Number of graduates	145	196		21	18		1		4	385
	race proportion	37.7%	50.9%		5.5%	4.7%		0.2%		1.0%	100%
	No. of govern. servants	89	55		12	8				2	166
	race proportion	53.6%	33.2%		7.2%	4.8%				1.2%	100%
	% of the graduates in government service	(61.4)	(28.1)		(57.1)	(44.4)				(50.0)	(43.1)
Total	Number of Graduates	439	362	16	73	59	1	2	1	14	967
	race proportion	45.4%	37.4%	1.7%	7.6%	6.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	1.4%	100%
	No. of govern. servants	170	88	3	25	18				2	306
	race proportion	55.6%	28.8%	0.9%	8.2%	5.9%				0.6%	100%
	% of the graduates in government service	(38.7)	(24.3)	(8.8)	(34.2)	(30.5)				(14.3)	(31.6)

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41, London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41
1931 Census: Quoted in Administration Reports Ceylon, Part I, Q5, 1939.
Ceylon Civil List, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

3-iv-1 BA Degrees

It is clear that the Sinhalese are markedly under represented as BA graduates in the context of their numbers in the total population, whereas Tamils are slightly over represented. If we now look at the government servants, the race proportion of BA graduates in the government service is near to the race proportion of BA graduates. Sinhalese are relatively over representative and Tamils are less representative in relation to their percentage of the total BA graduate numbers. We can clearly see the marked dominance of Sinhalese over Tamils in the government service. If we compare the proportion of government servants of graduates of the same race, an average of about 25% went into the government service from Sinhalese, Burghers and Europeans. Only 19.7% of Tamil graduates entered government service. The major finding here is that Sinhalese, who are markedly under represented with respect to their numbers in the total population, relative to Tamils, constitute a higher proportion of BA graduates in the government service.

3-iv-2 BSc Degrees

We can clearly see that Tamil BSc graduates are markedly over represented and Sinhalese BSc graduates are markedly under represented in the context of their numbers in the total population. However, despite the under representation of Sinhalese BSc graduates, there are more Sinhalese BSc graduates in the government service than Tamils. That is to say, 61.4% of the Sinhalese BSc graduates entered the government service while only 28.1% of the Tamil BSc

graduates entered the government service. The proportion of Tamil graduates in the government service is again much less than the proportion of graduates of other races in the government service, Burgher (57.1%) and European (44.4%). This is very extraordinary when we consider that the Tamils are 50.9% of all races holding BSc degrees whereas Sinhalese are only 37.7%.

3-iv-3 Total Graduates: BA, BSc and Other Degrees in the Government Service

If we consider the total graduates, the race pattern is very much affected by the discrepancy between BA and BSc. The pattern is less extreme. Overall, only 24.3% of Tamil graduates entered government service, whereas the figures for Sinhalese are 38.7%, Burghers 34.2% and Europeans 30.5%.

Thus, our major findings show clearly that Sinhalese graduates especially BSc are over represented in the government service. Indeed in the case of the BSc degree, 13.2% more Tamils hold BSc degrees than Sinhalese. We can therefore see that on the whole for all degrees it is much more likely for Sinhalese to enter the government service than Tamils.

3-v Previous Education, Race and Government Employment

3-v-1 Previous Education for the ULCE

The following 7.9 table shows where the successful ULCE degree candidates studied.

Table 7.9: Previous Education of ULCE graduates, 1900-1939

Name of Schools	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1900-1939	
<u>Ceylon</u>						
Private Study	0	30	87	254	371 (38.4%)	
Ceylon University College			164	398	562 (58.1%)	
Council of Legal Education				1	1	
Law College Colombo				1	1	
Technical Schools, Ceylon Technical Coll.		4		1	5	
Christian College	1	7	2	2	12	952
<u>Abroad</u>						
Law College, Madras	1		2		3	
Inns of Court		1			1	
University College, London (Law)				1	1	
London School of Economics (BSc Economics)			2		2	7
<u>Uncertain</u>		2	3	3	8	8
Total	2	44	260	661	967	967*

* Excluding successful candidates at the Second Medical Part I (119 students)

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

The table shows that the proportion of candidate numbers at the Ceylon University College and of those who studied privately was high. The number of candidates from the Ceylon University College increased in the 1920s after the college had been founded and doubled in the 1930s. At the same time, the number of successful candidates who studied privately increased three times every decade. On average, 38.4% of the graduates studied privately between 1900 and 1939. The reason for the high number of private students is partly explained by those who studied at the Ceylon University

College for a short period and left before taking degrees or failed degree examinations while they were at the college, or by those who finished Christian or other secondary schools and studied privately. Those who studied abroad before taking the ULCE seem to have taken a degree course without obtaining degrees and to have taken the ULCE when they returned to Ceylon.

This suggests, firstly, that there was a strong connection between the establishment of Ceylon University College and the increase of the candidate numbers for the ULCE. This implies that those who could afford fees and those who received formal education at school age were more likely to obtain degrees. Secondly, while going to Ceylon University College became a better means for higher education, private studies were also common in order to take degrees. Thirdly, the University of London provided opportunities for those outside formal institutions as well as for those in the formal institutions. There is an important conceptual point here. Normally, when historians of education describe the higher education population, it is presented with reference to the student numbers attending higher educational institutions. However, this obscures the fact that the candidate numbers for the ULCE is the total number of students in higher education in Ceylon. This formulation brings out the role of the ULCE. For example, the following table 7.10 gives an approximate idea of the student numbers for higher education every decade after 1880s. The number excludes candidate numbers for Matriculation examinations and includes the number above Intermediate examinations.

Table 7.10: Candidates and successful ULCE candidates for Intermediates, Diplomas and Degrees, 1882-1939

1882-1889		1890-1899		1900-1909		1910-1919	
Candi	Success	Candi	Success	Candi	Success	Candi	Success
5	2	7	3	80	39	732	305

1920-1929			1930-1939		1882-1939	
Candi		Success	Candi	Success	Candi	Success
(2,676)	(1)	1,150	(2)	2,311	(3,500)	3,810

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1882-1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

(1) Candidate Numbers in 1928 are not given.

(2) Candidate Numbers in the 1930's are not given.

The table shows that the number of candidates above Intermediate examinations increased every decade, and in 1910's, 73 candidates on average took examinations for Intermediates, Diplomas and Degrees of the ULCE every year. Thus the table shows that private candidates existed before 1921 when the University College was founded.

3-v-2 Previous Education, Race and Government Employment

We will now examine the relation between the previous education for ULCE, race and the government service. The next set of tables shows the previous education of graduates of the University of London (external) between 1900 and 1939 with respect to race and subject, and the previous education by those who entered the government service with London degrees (external) with respect to race and subject. Although

figures for all races are presented in the table 7.11, in the following discussion, we have concentrated on Sinhalese and Tamils, and BA graduates and BSc graduates because the figures for other races and degrees are too low for analysis and comparison.

In Table 7.11, the proportion of private candidates and University College candidates to the total number of each race shows a similar pattern of about 40% and 60% respectively except for the proportion of Europeans. This suggests that the establishment of the University College was equally used among different races, although the proportion of Tamils among the University College candidates is high in comparison with the Tamils as a proportion of the Ceylon population.

With respect to the previous education of graduates of the University of London (external) who entered the government service, the Table 7.11 shows that a higher proportion of University College candidates (73.9%) entered the government service than private candidates (23.2%). This finding is the same for every race. The proportion of University College candidates to the total number of government servants in the 1930's was greater than in the 1920's.

Table 7.11: Previous education of graduates and government servants by race
(Sinhalese and Tamils)

Table 7.11.1

Previous education of graduates by race								Previous education of government servants by race							
Graduates								Civil Servants							
Race	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	(2):(1)%
S	P	14	40	116	170	38.8	17.6		8	12	24	44	25.9	14.4	25.9
	U		74	185	259	59.0	26.8		1	42	79	122	71.7	39.9	47.1
	C	5	2		7	1.6	0.7		1	1		2	1.2	0.7	28.6
	UL			1	1	0.2	0.1				1	1	0.6	0.3	
	LC			1	1	0.2	0.1								
	TC			1	1	0.2	0.1				1	1	0.6	0.3	
Total		19	116	304	439	100%	45.4%		10	55	105	170	100%	55.6	38.7
T	P	6	34	86	126	34.8	13.0			9	6	15	17.1	4.9	11.9
	U		63	158	221	61.0	22.9			19	49	68	77.3	22.2	30.8
	C	2		1	3	0.8	0.3				1	1	1.1	0.3	
	UL			2	2	0.6	0.2			1		1	1.1	0.3	
	LC			2	3	0.8	0.3								
	TC	4			4	1.1	0.4								
	O	1		1	2	0.6	0.2	3				3	3.4	1.0	
	?			1	1	0.3	0.1								
Total		13	102	247	362	100%	37.4		3	29	56	88	100%	28.7	24.3

(Muslims, Burghers, Europeans and Other Races)

363

Table 7.11.3

T O T A L

Previous education of graduates by race Graduates								Previous education of government servants by race Civil Servants							
1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s					1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s				1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	(2) : (1) %
TOTAL P		30	87	254	371	38.4	38.4		12	27	32	71	23.2	23.2	19.1
U			164	398	562	58.2	58.2		1	75	150	226	73.9	73.9	40.2
C	1	7	2	1	11	1.1	1.1		1	1	1	3	1.0	1.0	27.3
UL			2	1	3	0.3	0.3			1	1	2	0.6	0.6	
LC	1		2	1	4	0.4	0.4								
TC		4		1	5	0.5	0.		3		1	4	1.3	1.3	
O		1		2	3	0.3	0.3								
?		2	3	3	8	0.8	0.8								
Total	2	44	260	661	967	100%	100%		17	104	185	306	100%	100%	31.6

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Ceylon Civil List 1910,1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

Notes for abbreviations:

- S : Sinhalese

T : Tamils

M : Muslims

B : Burghers

E : Europeans

Other races : Malay, Afghan, Indian
- p.e.: Previous education

P : Private Study

U : Ceylon University College, Colombo

UL : The University of London (University College, London, London School of Economics)

LC : Law College, Madras; Law College, Ceylon.

TC : Technical schools, Government technical college.

O : Other institutions (Inns of Courts, Council of Legal Education, Coconut Research Institute)

? : Not clear

C : Christian College

If we consider the race proportion of University College candidates who entered government service, then we can see that the proportion of Sinhalese University College students of the total number of graduates who entered the government service is 39.9% and is high. The proportion of Tamil University College graduates who entered the government service is 22.2% and is half the proportion of Sinhalese government servants although the number of Tamil University College candidates (221) was close to the number of Sinhalese University College graduates (259). Except for Tamils, the proportion of government servants within each race, is similar. For example, about 48% of the total number of the University College graduates of Europeans, Burghers and Sinhalese went into government service. The proportion of Tamil University College candidates who entered government service of the total number of Tamil graduates is 30.8% and is the lowest among the races. If we consider the total number of graduates who studied privately, on average 19.1% entered the government service. Among private candidates Sinhalese had a better chance of becoming government servants than numbers of other races who were private candidates.

So far we have considered previous education and the proportion of graduates who entered the government service. Now we shall consider the relation between previous education, type of degree and race. The proportion of Ceylon University College candidates in the government service is high for the BA and BSc. This is because the number of candidates for other degrees is very low. Appendix 7 - Table 7.3.1 and Table 7.3.2 show the previous education of BA and

BSc graduates and of those who entered the government service.

Appendix 7 - Table 7.3.1 shows the previous education of the BA graduates and it indicates that there is little difference in the graduate numbers between private and University College candidates. For Tamils, the number of graduates who studied privately is larger than that of other University College graduates. However, the number of BA graduates who entered the government service shows that the proportion of those who studied at the University College is twice the size of the proportion of private candidates to the total number of each race. If we now look at the relation between previous education and entry to the government service by race, we find that Sinhalese BA graduates who studied at University College were much more likely to enter government service than other races. Further if we look at the proportion of Sinhalese government servants to the total number of Sinhalese BA graduates, both the proportion of Sinhalese private candidates (20.3%) and University College candidates (31.4%) are larger than that of Tamil private candidates (12.5%) and Tamil University College candidates (27.1%).

This tendency is especially marked in the case of the BSc. Only 18.7% of the total number of BSc graduates studied privately and 77.9% studied at the University College. This shows that institutions with the necessary equipment were crucial for candidates preparing for the BSc. The high proportion of Sinhalese government servants with the BSc is common to both private candidates and University College

candidates. As Appendix 7 - Table 7.3.2 shows 50% of the total number of successful Sinhalese who studied privately for the BSc entered the government service and the figure is 65% for Sinhalese University College BSc graduates who entered the government service. The picture for Tamils is the reverse of the picture for Sinhalese. In the case of Tamils, only 7.8% of those who studied for the BSc privately, entered government service, whereas 32% who studied at University College for BSc degrees entered the government service. This again shows the importance of University College.

The above findings indicate that Tamil graduates, irrespective of previous education, private or University College, were under represented in the government service even in the case of BSc graduates.

3-vi Employment of Graduates by Race outside Government Service

So far we have examined the 306 graduates who entered the government service who are 31.6% of the total graduates. The question remains where did the other two thirds go. Although it is difficult to trace all the graduates' occupations, the following table shows the occupations of 173 graduates (external) who were named under the heading 'Men's addresses' in the Ceylon Directory of 1953. We must introduce a note of caution in interpreting the data created from this source. We know that we have managed to locate only 173 out of the possible 661 non government servants and so our sample is necessarily selective and represents just over a 1 in 4

sample. However, this sample is selective in another more important sense. We do not know on what basis individuals were selected or excluded from the Ceylon Directory. It would seem that entrance was selected on the basis of high occupational achievement. If this is the case, then our sample of 173 external graduates may be an adequate sample of those who entered and achieved positions in the high profession but a most inadequate sample from the point of view of its representativeness of all the occupations of non government servant graduates.

In the Ceylon Directory, names are given only for family names and initials for other names. The year of birth is not given either. Therefore, a graduate's name as a race indication was taken only when the family name, initials and degrees of the University of London matched the name in the pass list of the University of London.

We shall first discuss the relation between type of occupation and race (Table 7.12). We shall then attempt an analysis to see whether there is a relation between professions of power and race on the basis of a classification of professions (Table 7.13).

The Table 7.12 shows that 66 or 38.2% of 173 held positions in the educational field. In the table about half of the 66 people in the educational field were principals, vice-principals of colleges, and deans of a faculty of the University of Ceylon. Lecturers and masters are included under the heading of teachers. The number of teachers is

relatively small. This is because of the nature of the Directory, which enumerated only high positions or distinguished people. It would seem safe to infer that a large number of graduates were employed as teachers outside the government service. The number involved in Law is also high in comparison with the total number of graduates of the LLB degree. Many Proctors, Advocates, and Notary Public graduated with BA and BSc degrees. On the whole, among the 173 graduates listed in the Ceylon Directory, the number of those who were in commerce is relatively small. On the other hand, the number of those who were in public service is high.

It should be noted that the government servants listed in the Ceylon Directory are government servants who would have graduated after the period of our study, i.e. 1939.

We shall derive from the Table 7.12, the Table 7.13 which will enable us to examine the proportion of Sinhalese and Tamil graduates in what we shall call the professions of power and influence. We distinguish first between graduates employed in education, those in public administration, and those in law. We shall then construct a more general category of profession of power by combining public administration and law. We have excluded education on the ground that those in education have less access to positions of power and influence. In the category of public administration, we included positions of government minister and positions in the government and local government, and government organisations.

Table 7.12: Occupations of the graduates in 1953 Ceylon Directory not in the Civil Lists

	Sin	Tam	Mus	Bur	Eur	Others	Total
Law	14	11	2	3	2	1	33
Education	27	28		7	4		66
Principal	(18)	(13)		(1)	(2)		(34)
Teacher	(3)	(9)		(5)	(2)		(19)
Registrar/Librarian		(1)		(1)			(2)
Inspector	(6)	(5)					(11)
Research Institution	3	1					4
Minister	2						2
Civil Service	9	11		1			21
Local Government	5	1					6
Public Organisation	10	3					13
Editing	1						1
Commerce	5	1	1	3			10
Charter Accountant	1	2					3
Religion	3	5					8
Unspecified	3	2		1			6
Total	83	65	3	15	6	1	173
Medical Profession	8	2		1			11
Unspecified	4	2			1		7
Total (Medical)	12	4		1	1		18
GRAND TOTAL	95	69	3	16	7	1	191

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.

London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Ceylon Directory (Ferguson's) 1953.

Note: Sin = Sinhalese; Tam = Tamils; Mus = Muslims; Bur = Burghers,
Eur = Europeans.

Table 7.13: Occupation of Sinhalese and Tamil graduates,
(Ceylon Directory, 1953)

	B A		B Sc		Total	
	S	T	S	T	S	T
Total	63	26	15	36	78	62
(1) Education % of total	21 33.3%	13 50.0%	6 40%	15 41.7%	27 (34.6)	28 (45.2)
(2) Public Admin. % of total	19 30.1%	3 11.5%	5 33.3%	12 33.3%	24	15
(3) Law % of total	14 22.2%	4 15.4%	0	4 11.1%	14	8
(4) Other % of total	9 14.3%	6 23.1%	4 26.7%	5 13.9%	13	11
Professions of Power	33	7	5	16	38	23
(2) + (3) % of total	52.4%	26.9%	33.3%	44.4%	(38:78) 48.7%	(23:62) 37.1%

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900 - 1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Ceylon Directory (Ferguson's) 1953

Note: S = Sinhalese; T = Tamils.

It is a matter of interest that the number of Sinhalese and Tamil graduates in the 1953 Ceylon Directory is broadly comparable to their distribution in the total ULCE graduates.

If we look at the BA, BSc degrees listed in the Ceylon Directory 1953, there is a more equal representation of Tamils than is found for these degrees in the government service. Further, the distribution between BA and BSc degrees

for Tamils in the Ceylon Directory 1953 is very different from the distribution between BA and BSc degrees of Tamils in the government service where Tamils were much more likely to have BSc degrees. Although we should treat with considerable caution in any inferences derived from Ceylon Directory for reasons given above, and especially, because we are basing our analysis only on one year, it is interesting to note that the Directory shows the significance of Tamils in achieving important positions with respect both BA and BSc graduates. Although Tamils are under represented in the government service, they appear to achieve important positions outside such service.

If we now consider the occupations of education, public administration and law, there is a tendency for Tamils to be in education rather than public administration and law. Whereas in the case of Sinhalese, this picture is reversed. There is a tendency for Sinhalese to be in law and public administration rather than in education. We cannot make too much of this finding as the number is very small and it should be considered only as suggestive.

In general this analysis (with the cautions indicated above) shows that Tamils are more equally represented in the Ceylon Directory 1953 than they are in the government service. This seems to indicate that the Tamils could achieve important positions within Ceylon, according to the Ceylon Directory 1953. However, there is a tendency in data for Tamils compared to Sinhalese to be in positions in education (mainly government schools) whereas Sinhalese have a tendency

to be in the professions of power. That is in public administration and law.

4. Summary and Conclusions

In the previous two chapters we have examined the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon between 1900 and 1939 with respect to the development of the education system, employment and race. Here we shall draw together the major findings of the two chapters on Ceylon.

With respect to the development of the educational system in Ceylon, we can conclude that the ULCE contributed to the expansion of higher education. in the following way.

4-i The Development of Higher Education in Ceylon and ULCE

The development of higher education was supported through the University Scholarships and the establishment of Ceylon University College, Colombo. The ULCE were the pivot. After 1907, the Intermediate Examinations with some amendment were used as a means of selecting students for the University Scholarships. This was replaced with degree examinations in 1922. The number of candidates and successful candidates increased in the 1920's and 1930's in comparison with the 1910's. This seems to be attributable to the establishment of Ceylon University College.

The total number of successful candidates of the ULCE amounted to 9430 for Matriculations, Intermediates, Diplomas

or Degrees between 1900 and 1939. (Candidate numbers between 1932 and 1939 are not obtainable). If we compare the successful candidate numbers for the ULCE above Intermediate level between 1920 and 1939 (3461), with the Ceylonese student number in Britain between 1924 and 1939 (560), it is reasonable to assert that the ULCE made a massive contribution to the development of higher education in Ceylon. Ceylon was an unusual colony in that a wide range of subjects, which included not only seven degrees but also the Second Medical Examination (Part I), was available. The ULCE also provided important opportunities for those who studied outside formal institutions, that is those who studied privately. Our findings show that 38.4% of the total number of graduates studied for their degrees privately. The increase in the number of candidates and subjects for the ULCE led to the establishment of the University of Ceylon in 1942.

From the viewpoint of the University of London, the implementation of the ULCE in Ceylon, especially in connection with the Ceylon University College, was analogous to the relation which the University of London was developing with university colleges in Britain in the first half of the 20th century. It is remarkable that the BSc and the Second Examination for MD (Part I) as well as MA were available in a colony. The availability of MD may well have been linked to the fact that British doctors were not likely to go to Ceylon. Ceylon's own contribution to the development of subjects available for examinations is also highly significant. For example, local languages were made a part of

the examination subjects in accordance with Ceylon's requests. The development of the ULCE in Ceylon may well have provided the grounds for the 'Special Relation' under which the University of London supported University Colleges of the British colonies until they grew to a full university between 1946 and 1970.

4-ii Previous Education, Degrees, Occupations and Race

In Chapter VII we concentrated upon a very detailed analysis of 967 graduates who obtained their degrees and 119 successful candidates who passed the Second Medical Examination (Part 1) between 1900 and 1939. This analysis reveals findings on previous education to prepare for degrees, type of degrees, occupations and race origin of graduates. The major emphasis of this analysis was on the relationship between graduates, race and government service.

The literature on the effect of Western education in Ceylon indicates that there was over representation of Burghers and Tamils and under representation of Sinhalese in administration and professional occupations. The explanation offered is that Burghers and Tamils took advantage of western education in the early period of British rule. On the other hand, Sinhalese were said to be slow to follow western education. The weakness of this explanation is, firstly, that it is based solely on the examination of personnel in the government service by race and thus ignores the complex relationships between race, degrees, type of degrees, and employment in the government service. Further the comparisons

are based upon the race proportion in the total population rather than upon the race proportions among graduates.

Our analysis was based upon the successful candidate numbers of Cambridge Senior Examinations, student number at British universities, and the successful candidate number of the University of London Colonial Examinations. Such an analysis should reveal the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations in Ceylon.

Before examining the findings bearing upon the above issues, we shall first summarize the findings with respect to previous education for the ULCE, graduates and government service.

4-ii-1 Previous Education

The major site of previous education for the ULCE was Ceylon University College. The proportion of the University College students among the total number of graduates of the University of London (external) remained about 60% in the 1920's and 1930's. While 48.6% of all BA graduates studied at Ceylon University College, 77.9% of the total number of BSc graduates studied at Ceylon University College. It is clear that Ceylon University College played a major role in the production of science degree. However it should be born in mind that the number of candidates for the ULCE increased in the 1910's before the establishment of Ceylon University College and this indicates that ULCE provided roots to higher education before the establishment of Ceylon University

College. We must point out that 38.4% of the total number of graduates between 1900 and 1939 studied privately.

We shall now consider the relation between previous education and government service. It is very clear that a higher proportion of University College graduates (73.9%) entered the government service than private graduates (23.2%). This proportion is found in all races. It seems that University College graduates had a much better chance of entering the government service than privately studied candidates. This suggests that the establishment of the central college became a primary selective institution for the government service.

When we compared external graduates of the University of London with internal graduates of British universities with respect to employment in the government service, we found that there was no bias towards external graduates of the University of London, but external graduates were more likely to enter government service. This was also confirmed by our analysis of the 1953 Civil List.

When we examined type of degree with respect to government employment, the BSc degree was most closely linked with employment (43.1% of the total BSc graduates), followed by the BA (23.8% of the total BA graduates). However, with respect to Law qualifications, the ULCE were less important for the Ceylonization of the Law Department in the government service.

4-ii-2 Race, Degrees and Government Service

The most important finding is that Sinhalese are under represented with respect to the total population and Tamils are over represented with respect to the total population in obtaining London degrees (external). Sinhalese are seriously under represented when compared to Tamils with respect to the BSc degree. Tamils, who are only 26.7 percent of the total Ceylonese population are over represented for all subjects, except medicine, and particularly, in the case of the BSc degree (50.9%). However, we should point out that if we look at the relation between race and degree preference there is a marked movement of Sinhalese moving towards the BA degree whereas Tamils moved markedly towards the BSc degree. The proportion of other races is too small to make a comparison. However, although the number is small, Burghers and Europeans show a similar movement in their choice of subjects to Sinhalese. Now we shall consider the relation between race, degree and government service. Here there is one major finding. Sinhalese (45.4%) of the total number of graduates (excluding MD) represent 55.6% of the total graduates who entered the government service. Conversely, Tamils (37.4% of the total graduates excluding MD) represent only 28.8% of the total number of graduates who entered government service. The number of Burghers and Europeans are proportional to their proportion of graduates. The proportion of Sinhalese graduates who entered the government service of the total number of Sinhalese graduates (38.7%) is larger than that of Tamils (24.3%). Tamils are clearly under represented in the government service.

There is another major finding bearing upon the under representation of Tamils. When we examined the relation between race, BA degree and government service employment, we found that a lower proportion of Tamil BA graduates entered the government service (19.7%) than the proportion of Sinhalese BA graduates (26.3%) and Europeans (24.3%). The picture for the BSc degree is even more surprising. In the case of the BSc degree, Tamils constituted 50.9% of the total BSc graduates but only 33.2% of these entered government service. When we examined Sinhalese BSc graduates who were only 37.7% of BSc graduates, we found that 53.6% of these entered the government service. This is a clear evidence to show that Sinhalese BSc graduates were more likely to enter the government service despite the fact that a much smaller proportion of Sinhalese compared with Tamils obtained BSc degrees.

So far we have shown the under representation of Tamils compared to Sinhalese among external graduates who entered the government service. We are also able to carry out an exploratory analysis of the relation between race and graduates who entered major professions outside government service. It will be remembered that we combined law and public administration to form what we loosely termed the professions of power to distinguish those professions from education. The sample was drawn from the Ceylon Directory of 1953. In the chapter we indicated the reasons for treating the findings here with some caution. We identified 173 graduates (excluding MD) in the Ceylon Directory of 1953. Our

finding here is that there was a tendency for Tamils to enter the field of education, whereas Sinhalese were more likely to enter the professions of power.

Finally, the crucial importance of the ULCE for the administration of the modern state of Ceylon can be seen from the following finding. If we consider the employment of external graduates, irrespective of their employment within or outside government service, we found that nearly 50% of the total number of graduates between 1900 and 1939 held high positions in the public services and the educational field sometime between 1910 and 1953.

4-iii Discussions and General Conclusions

Our findings show that the racial proportion in the government service with the University of London degrees which were externally conferred between 1900 and 1939 show that Sinhalese were over represented and Tamils were under represented. This differs from the view shared in the existing literature where Tamils were said to be over represented. This implies that the University of London supported the expansion of higher education under British rule, and the opportunities to obtain higher qualifications were taken by almost all the different races except Muslims. However, according to our findings, similar qualifications did not give rise to similar professional chances. For it is clear that Tamils were under represented in the government employment opportunities.

From the above findings some questions arise.

Firstly, why did a greater number of Tamils obtain degrees through the ULCE, especially the BSc, than other races? Did Tamils generally perform better than others, especially at the BSc examinations? Although we have the number of successful candidates, we are not able to examine the success rate at the ULCE by race as we do not have the candidate names. If the success rate was the same among different races, it follows that Tamils particularly favoured Science. We are unable to explain the reason why Tamils favoured Science more than other races. We do know that Tamils were not a dominant race economically and politically in Ceylon. It is possible that the Arts degree represented a culture and form of thought very distant from the social and cultural base of Tamils whereas a science degree with its potential practical value may have been viewed more favourably, both as a mode of thought and a means of social mobility.

Secondly, why did a greater number of Sinhalese, especially Sinhalese BSc graduates, enter the government service than other races. Did Tamils not attempt to enter the government service? The latter question contradicts the situation of Tamils as a minority race. The fact that Tamil BSc graduates held positions in public administration outside the government service in the same proportion as Sinhalese shows that Tamils could have entered the government service if they had been offered positions. It is reasonable to assert that Tamils were somehow less favoured as applicants to the

government service. This is particularly so in the case of Tamil BSc graduates. The recruiting policy of the government service would seem to be in the control of Sinhalese rather than British administrators. If the British administration controlled the recruiting policy to the government service, it would have been likely that Tamils would have been treated at least equal to, if not preferred to Sinhalese. It is generally suggested that the British administration favoured minority groups such as Tamils as a means of dealing with dominant groups such as the Sinhalese. If this hypothesis is correct then there is a distinctive possibility that the Sinhalese controlled the recruiting policy or at least were in a position to exert an influence upon it. As a consequence the Sinhalese ensured their dominance in the government service, the power over administration and possible influence on the legislature before Ceylon's independence.

We have also shown that there existed different educational routes for different professions. A greater proportion of the University of London graduates, irrespective of whether they were external or internal, entered the government service than Ceylon students who obtained higher qualifications in Britain. However if we look at each subject studied, 179 lawyers were qualified in three Inns of Courts between 1900 and 1939, while only 29 obtained degrees in LLB through the ULCE. As a single subject, the number of lawyers who were internal students is very high. Similarly, we can assume that the majority of the 119 students who passed the Second Medical Examination (Part I) qualified abroad. Thus, with

respect to the Ceylonization of the government service the ULCE provided only the basic study for Medicine and contributed less in the Law Department.

This would seem to indicate that law and medical students were more likely to be drawn from wealthy Sinhalese. Speculating, it might be possible to draw a distinction between two different groups of dominant Sinhalese, those whose dominance had its origins in the landed traditional structures who lived in Kandy and those who were more likely to be based in the developing urban sector. This latter group may well have had economic connections with the British. Very cautiously, we would hypothesize that law and medical students were drawn from the dominant urban group. It is also a matter of interest that those who entered the highly influential professions of law and medicine were also more likely to experience intensive socialization into British values, ways of thinking and forms of discipline arising out of their staying in Britain while they were pursuing their degrees.

If we now consider the main arguments of dependency theories that European culture was imposed upon dependent societies, the case of Ceylon is illuminating. Initially the Ceylonese asked for concessions in order that the University of London examinations should contain subjects relevant to Ceylon (Sanskrit) and other less relevant dropped (French and German). However, later the Ceylonese terminated these concessions themselves in order that the degrees awarded to

the Ceylonese should have the same status as degrees obtained elsewhere under British rule. Thus in the interest of parity of status, British educational culture was reproduced. However this implies the acceptance of their own culture and relevancies as being of less significance. Thus the dominance of British standards and culture can be reproduced, other than by overt explicit imposition, where social mobility and senior professional positions are necessarily linked to educational achievements through the British educational system.

Further, in the 1960's we find that there was a reassertion of Buddhism, the culture of the dominant Ceylonese group, and a rejection of English as the official language. This confirms our findings that entrance for government service was possibly controlled by the Ceylonese rather than the British, and that the Sinhalese prepared for their dominance after Ceylon's independence by control over the selection of government servants in the first half of the 20th century. Contrary to many dependency theories which assert the imposing relationship of the dominant countries, our findings show that Sinhalese, the dominant group, used the imposed system as a means of increasing their own power. It seems that in Ceylon, at least the influence of the ULCE was weakened after independence with respect to the values, culture and language reproduced by the educational system.

Table 7.14: Ceylon graduate numbers of the University of London
(external), 1900-1939 by race and by subject,
identified by three coders

Sample 1 by coder 1

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	274	10	1	145	7	1	1	75	514
Tamils	152	11		196	3			27	389
Muslims	13	1			2			1	17
Burghers	46	3		21	3			11	84
Europeans	37	2	2	18				3	62
Others	1			1	2			1	5
Uncertain	6	2		4	1		1	1	15
Total	529	29	3	385	18	1	2	119	1086

Sample 2 by coder 2

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	250	111	1	136	7	1	1	68	475
Tamils	147	10		194	3			26	380
Muslims	11			5	2			4	22
Burghers	56	3		20				10	89
Europeans	62	3	2	25	2			10	104
Others	1			2	1				4
Uncertain	2	2		3	3		1	1	12
Total	529	29	3	385	18	1	2	119	1086

Sample 3 by coder 3

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	272	10	1	146	6	1	1	75	512
Tamils	154	10		192	3			31	390
Muslims	11	1			3			1	16
Burghers	19	2		3	1			7	32
Europeans	24	1	1	12	2			2	42
Others	—	1		1	1				3
Uncertain	49	4	1	31	2		1	3	91
Total	529	29	3	385	18	1	2	119	1086

Note: The number of successful candidates for the Second Medical Examination (Part 1) is included.

Table 7.15: Number of Ceylon government servants of the University of London graduates (external), 1900-1939 by race and by subject, identified by three coders

Sample 1 by coder 1

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	72	5		89	2	1	1	39	209
Tamils	30	2		55	1			13	101
Muslims	3								3
Burghers	12	1		12				7	32
Europeans	9		1	8				1	19
Others				2				1	3
Uncertain									
Total	126	8	1	166	3	1	1	61	367

Sample 2 by coder 2

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	65	5		83	2	1	1	35	193
Tamils	30	2		55	1			12	100
Muslims	3			1					4
Burghers	15			12				8	35
Europeans	13	1	1	15				6	36
Others									
Uncertain									
Total	126	8	1	166	3	1	1	61	367

Sample 3 by coder 3

	BA	LLB	BD	BSc	BSc(Eco)	BSc(Eng)	MA	Sec. Med.	Total
Sinhalese	70	5		90	2	1	1	38	207
Tamils	32	2		54	1			15	104
Muslims	3								3
Burghers	9	1		2				6	18
Europeans	5			7				1	13
Others									
Uncertain	7		1	13				1	22
Total	126	8	1	166	3	1	1	61	367

Note: The number of successful candidates for the Second Medical Examination (Part 1) is included.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

In this thesis we have been concerned with a number of issues: the relationship between the University of London and the colonies essentially through the University of London Colonial Examinations, and the relationship between the state and the University of London. We have tried to throw light upon these issues through the three case studies of Mauritius, the Gold Coast and Ceylon between 1900 and 1939.

We noted in the second chapter that on the whole the systematic study of external examinations in the colonies had been neglected in the literature we reviewed. As a result, the existing literature lacks a crucial determinant of the development of educational systems in the colonies. Our case studies provide evidence both of influence and of the limitations of educational qualifications obtained from the University of London.

We shall deal in this conclusion with the relationship between the state and the University of London, the occupational consequences of the ULCE in the colonies and their relation to social stratification and social mobility, and finally we will consider the relevance of Development and Underdevelopment theories to our findings.

We suggested that the University of London Colonial Examinations were the most important among external examinations as only the University of London conferred degrees in an extended manner through the external examinations. With respect to the role of education, higher education was crucial both for the colonial administration and the indigenous people as higher qualifications could become both a means of challenging the colonial power and of the development of a modern economy.

The principles of conduct of the examinations ensured that the examinations would be conducted in every respect on the same footing of the examination carried in Britain except that the Colonial Office or the colonial authority was involved with the colonial examinations. This parity of principle announced by the University of London for the implementation of the Matriculation examination in Mauritius in 1865 was maintained throughout the period of our concern although concessions were made for the colonies from time to time.

Omolewa, who studied external examinations in Nigeria, raised an important question of the relation between the Colonial Office and the University of London, and the University of London and the external examinations. For example, Omolewa points to the influence of the external examinations on the development of secondary and higher education, and on the formation of the new elite. These two consequences show that external examinations regulated the

Nigerian education system and the curriculum in general, and the dominance of the English language changed the principles of occupational recruitment and shifted the basis of social and political esteem from traditional to modern principles.

Analysis of the ULCE can offer evidence of the role of education in the colonies and in this way throw light on problems raised by the literature.

^{After} Since the ULCE began in Mauritius in 1865, 1682 candidates took 8 different examinations in 18 colonies until 1899, and 714 passed the examinations. (Appendix 1 and 2) Between 1900 and 1939, 42,601 candidates took 35 examinations (Honours and Pass are counted as 1) in 58 countries, and 13,859 candidates passed the examinations. (Appendix 1 and 2) Among different examinations, 30,090 candidates out of 42,601 (70.6%) took the Matriculation examination. The number of successful candidates in degree examinations was 1378 between 1900 and 1939. Although these results suggest that the ULCE were mainly used for the secondary school certificate, the results do not imply that the candidates aimed only for the Matriculation. Rather it should be interpreted that the number of Matriculation candidates represented a potential for degree candidates. If the candidates in the colonies had not intended to take degrees, they would have taken the University of Cambridge Local Examinations which were more popular as the secondary school certificate examination in the colonies. The reason for the small number of degree candidates in comparison with the number of Matriculation

candidates is partly attributable to the lack of facilities for higher education in the colonies. As we have shown in the three case studies, candidate numbers increased when institutions for higher education were established and courses for the ULCE were available. This suggests that the expansion of the ULCE depended on local government policies on higher education, which were in turn related to the political, economic and social situation of the colonies.

2. The State and the University of London

From our study of the general background of the University of London Colonial Examinations, it is clear that these examinations cannot be separated from the activities of the State with respect to the colonies in the first half of the 20th century. After 1900, British policy towards her colonies emphasised the need for alliance among the member colonies for economic and political reasons. An important step in developing this alliance was the establishing of communications between colonial universities. It became necessary to understand not only about different cultures and languages but also about the legal systems and social customs of the colonies and dependencies. The University of London's role was strengthened as the mother university of the British Empire. We can see that the establishment of the Institute of Education, the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, the School of Oriental and African Studies, and the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies was related to the administration of the Empire. The attracting of overseas students was another important function. For example, nearly half of the total

overseas students in Great Britain and Ireland studied at the University of London in 1927-28. (This is the earliest material available).

The above context affected the University of London with respect to the colonial examinations. After 1900, the University of London took a positive view of the colonial examinations and relaxed its rules to meet local needs, by setting local languages as a part of the examinations. This is in contrast to the decisions which the University of London made before 1900. For example, the University of London rejected applications from the Governor of Jamaica for examinations in Science and Medicine in 1888 and from the Government of Bombay in 1891 for direct communications between examination centres and the University of London, on the ground for the need for general rules for the implementation of colonial examinations. According to the recommendation by the two Royal Commissions in 1889 and 1894 the Senate also resolved in 1897 to discontinue the Colonial Examinations in the colonies where either possessed or were within easy reach of a University for the following reasons:

- i. the ULCE were not to be used for higher qualifications,
- ii. the educational value was small as failure was high,
- iii. the need for the ULCE was considered to be reduced since 1865 as more universities had been established in all the more important colonies.

However evidence for a more positive response by the University of London to the colonial examinations is provided

by the University agreement to the requests by the Governor of Ceylon in 1904. These requests were considered as a question of educational policy and the Senate took local needs into account. After 1904, the rigid regulations were gradually relaxed and subjects which were not possible previously became available in the colonies. For example, the preliminary Scientific Examination Part I was held in Ceylon in 1906 for the first time in the colonies, followed by the BSc Pass Examination in 1916. The First Medical Examination also started in Ceylon in 1910 and the Second Medical Examination in 1912. Languages of the colonies were accepted as a part of the examination. The examinations requiring practical examinations or viva voce were granted by setting an additional paper.

Further evidence of this more positive stance of the University of London is provided by the support of the University of London given to the development of higher education in the colonies. The Allied Colonial Universities Conference in 1903 and the following Congress of the Universities of the Empire discussed the current problems on the coordination of universities of the British Empire. The Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa in 1923 (Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies after 1929) was established to organise the education system in the colonies where there were no universities. A request by Sir James Currie in 1935 on behalf of the Advisory Committee of Education in the Colonies for the adaptation of examining regulations to African needs was accepted by the University

of London, which required consideration to be given to the educational development of secondary and higher education in West Africa. Further, the involvement of the Advisory Committee on the ULCE is important with respect to the Special Relation which was regarded as an extended form of the ULCE under which the University of London supported University Colleges of the colonies until they developed to independent universities between the 1940's and the 1960's. The university of Ghana established in 1961 is an example of the Special Relationship. It would seem to be that the more positive stance towards the ULCE by the University of London was influenced by the policy of the State towards the colonies. In this respect the University of London relaxed its regulations governing the examinations and so assisted in the development of higher education.

3. Autonomy of the University of London

Although we have shown that the introduction and the development of the ULCE were directly related to the colonial administration, and that the Colonial Office was involved with the conduct of the ULCE, it is also true that the University of London was independent of the Colonial Office or the colonial governments.

The independence of the University of London can be seen in the conduct of the examinations, in the subjects available for the examinations, and in the content of examination papers. With respect to the principle of conduct of examinations, the colonial examinations were to be conducted

in the same manner as in Britain. With respect to the available subjects, decisions were made according to the regulations and general rules of the University of London. Further the Senate maintained the principle that the ULCE had to preserve the fundamental conception of the degree as a degree of an English speaking University. The degrees conferred upon overseas candidates thus were substantially on the same basis as those awarded to English students. (SM 3654, 1922-23)

Although the Colonial Office was involved in conducting the colonial examinations by acting as a relay for applications and examination papers between the University of London and the colonies where the ULCE were held, the final decisions on the implementation of the examinations were made by the University of London. We have seen that the University of London had the power to relax or to change regulations with respect to the colonies.

However, we have also shown that the general social and political situations in the first half of the 20th century affected the selection of subjects available in the colonies. For example, the University of London was willing to accept languages used in the colonies as a part of the examination subjects. Instituting the BA Honours and MA examination as degree subjects in Sinhalese and Tamil shows that instituting a new subject was not only a matter of the University of London but was related in a broader sense to the policies of the British government. Conversely, the rejection of the

application to set up an examination in Final Examination in Agriculture, which was requested by Mauritius in 1928 shows the autonomy of the University of London in its relation to the Colonial Office. It seems that the University of London took the opportunity of setting up new subjects whenever the request was in accord with the University's own interests, and requests were rejected when they were not beneficial to the University. In this sense, although in the last instance, the University maintained its autonomy, it was also affected by the historical period and its decisions were often in accord with the requirements of the state. In an important sense, the partnership of the Colonial Office and the University of London seems to have been of mutual benefit and interest.

4. The University of London and the colonies: Three Case Studies

A major point at issue in the literature is whether the educational system in the colonies functioned as a means of controlling colonies in order to insert ^{them} colonies into the world economy, or at the cultural level, to further British domination of the indigenous culture in the interest of the British. We have shown in Chapter III that by the end of the 19th century the education systems in the colonies were consolidated following the British educational pattern. We have also found that many colonies introduced external examinations of various kinds around 1900. However, a close examination of the introduction of the ULCE shows that the role of the ULCE varies in each colony.

In this sense, the role of the ULCE must be examined with respect to political, economic and cultural levels of activity in each colony as Cardoso and Faletto argue. For this purpose we chose three colonies for case studies. We attempted to examine the role of the ULCE with respect to the development of the educational systems in each colony in order to locate higher education in its historical, social and economic background, and with respect to the occupational consequences of successful ULCE candidates. We are here especially concerned with the relationship between the ULCE, higher education and government service.

Mauritius was chosen because it was the first colony to develop the ULCE. Ceylon was chosen because more candidates sat for the ULCE than in any other colony. Finally, the Gold Coast was chosen as an example of a colony whose cultural and historical background was different from Mauritius and Ceylon. In the case of the Gold Coast, the ULCE was introduced later than in the other two colonies. We saw the significance of the period between 1900 and 1939 as laying a basis for the Special Relation after 1948.

The three colonies, thus, represent three stages of the ULCE: genesis, development and transformation to a future development. A common feature of the three colonies was that none possessed its own university. Accordingly, the University of London's qualifications were almost the sole qualifications for higher education, apart from qualifications obtained outside the colonies.

4-i Common Implications of the ULCE

Before describing the role of the ULCE in each colony, some common implications of the ULCE will be discussed.

4-i-1 Subjects

With respect to subjects studied, those who were qualified in Science both in the Intermediate and the degree had more opportunities of employment than those who were qualified in Arts in the three colonies. Although it has been said that colonial governments had ignored subjects relevant to modern industry, our evidence shows that science qualifications were favoured for the government service at least in the three colonies.

If we compare the number of government servants with University of London qualifications (external) and government servants with higher qualifications obtained in other British universities between 1900 and 1939, a higher proportion of the University of London graduates entered government service. Colonial students who were internal to British universities between 1900 and 1939 and who read medicine and law were much less likely to enter the government service when they returned to their colonies. However it should be noted that there is a difference in subjects chosen between those who took the ULCE and those who studied in Britain. Law and Medicine were favoured subjects for Mauritian internal students, Engineering, Law and Medicine for Ceylon internal students, and Law for the Gold Coast internal

students. On the whole external students (ULCE) read for the BA and BSc degrees.

It is also striking that many more barristers were produced than the number of graduates in other subjects in Mauritius and the Gold Coast. Between 1900 and 1939, 63 Mauritian students were called to the bar at the three Inns of Courts while only 16 candidates obtained degrees through the ULCE in Mauritius during the same period. In the Gold Coast, 60 barristers were produced against 19 graduates (external). The relation between barristers and the government employment is weak. In Mauritius, 27% of the 63 barristers entered the government service and only 10% of the barristers in the Gold Coast. In Ceylon, the situation is different. First of all, there is a much greater number of total graduates and so of barristers. Between 1900 and 1939, 967 graduates were produced and 179 barristers. 31.7% of the 967 graduates and 24.6% of the 179 barristers entered the government service respectively. Thus, in Ceylon there is only a small difference between ULCE graduates and barristers entering the government service.

4-i-2 Central Colleges

The introduction and the development of the ULCE in the colonies was always seen in connection with a central college. The function of the central college heavily subsidised by the government was established in order to produce future administrators. At the central school, there were many scholarships available. This enabled, to a certain

degree, the school to select students of merit. We have already shown that the Royal College, Mauritius, was the battlefield between the British and the Franco-Mauritians. The introduction of the Matriculation Examination in Mauritius in 1865 was to develop Anglicization of the Royal College in the struggle between the British and the Franco-Mauritians. However, although the Royal College, Mauritius, was the centre for Mauritian education, it did not develop into an institution for higher education, as we shall consider later. In Ceylon, the Colombo Academy which became the government college in 1836, later reorganised as the Royal College in 1881, was the centre for higher education through the 19th century and until the University College was established in 1921. The introduction of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations in 1880 and the University of London Colonial Examinations in 1882 were related to the reorganisation of the Colombo Academy as the Royal College. The expansion of the ULCE in candidate numbers and subjects was the result of the establishment of the Ceylon University College. In the Gold Coast, the number of candidates for the ULCE also increased after 1929 when Achimota College opened the university class.

The following table 8.1 shows the educational background of the successful candidates in the three colonies. In Mauritius, the Royal College students took essentially the Matriculation Examination and candidates above Intermediate Examinations studied privately. In Ceylon, essentially from the Ceylon University College, candidates took more degree

examinations than candidates who studied either privately or at other institutions. This suggests that systematic study was advantageous for higher qualifications. In the Gold Coast, on average, half of the successful candidates were Achimota students. However, the large number of private candidates implies that the ULCE also enabled those outside the main school to obtain higher qualifications. Further, the number of private candidates seems to have increased in parallel with candidate numbers of the central school.

Table 8.1: Previous Education for the ULCE 1900-1939, Mauritius, Ceylon and the Gold Coast

	<u>Mauritius</u>		<u>Ceylon</u>		<u>Gold Coast</u>	
	R.C.	Others	U.C.	Others	Achimota	Others
Matriculation	85	117	--	--	5	56
Intermediate	1	73			33	30
Diploma Other Cert.					2	5
Degrees	--	16	562	405	11	12
Total	86	206	562	405	51	103

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-1
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41

Note: 1. Numbers for Mauritius and the Gold Coast include candidates who passed parts of the examinations.
 2. R.C.: Royal College, Mauritius.
 U.C.: University College, Ceylon.
 Others: mainly private candidates.

In the three colonies, the central colleges, the Royal College, Mauritius, University College, Ceylon, and Achimota College were run wholly or partly as the government school while the other secondary schools in each colony were mainly administered by Christian missionaries. This suggests that

these central colleges reflected the educational policy of the colonial government, which was closely related to the colonial policy in each colony. That is to say, the number of students or the subjects available at these colleges were determined by the needs of personnel of the local governments. The ULCE assured the standard of these students.

4-i-3 Government Servants

The following table 8.2 shows the number of successful candidates at different examinations between 1900 and 1939, and the number of successful candidates who held positions in the government service. The names were checked in the Civil Lists every ten years for the candidates in Ceylon and Mauritius. In the Gold Coast case, the names were checked in 1931, 1948-49, and 1953-54. For Ceylon, the number of successful candidates who entered the government service is only shown for graduates at various subjects and for the Second Medical (Part I) as our examination of the government servants in Ceylon was concentrated on graduates.

In Mauritius and the Gold Coast, the proportion of the successful candidates who held positions in the government service increases as qualifications become higher. In Ceylon, the proportion of graduates who entered the government service is much smaller than that in Mauritius and the Gold Coast. Clearly there is a limit on the number of positions available in government service and the employment of graduates depends upon the growth of the modern economy. However it does suggest in Ceylon that higher qualifications

Table 8.2: Successful candidates at various examinations, 1900-1939 and
successful candidates entering government service,
1910-1953

	Mauritius			Ceylon			The Gold Coast		
	Pass	Gov	%	Pass	Gov	%	Pass	Gov	%
I Matriculation	202	37	18.3				61	17	27.9
II Interm. Arts	35	16	45.7				38	16	
Interm. Science	37	26	70.2				10	2	
Interm. Commerce	0						1	1	
Interm. Agricul.	1	0							
Interm. Econom.	1	0					3	0	
Interm. Law							1	0	
Interm. Divinity									
Interm. Engineer							10	6	
	74	42	56.8				63	25	39.7
First Medical							4	1	
Diploma Others							3	0	
Total	74	42	56.8				70	26	37.1
<u>Degrees</u>									
III BA	13	9		545	126	23.1	14	7	
BSc	3	3		393	166	42.2			
BSc Eng.				1	1		8	7	
BSc Econ.				19	3	15.8			
LLB				29	8	27.6			
BD				3	1		1		
Total	16	12	75.0	990	305	30.8	23	14	60.9
IV Second Medical (Paper)				119	61	51.3			
V MA				2	1				

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-41

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41

The Mauritius Civil List, 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940.

Staff List: Mauritius 1951.

Ceylon Civil List, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

Civil Service List, The Gold Coast 1931.

Staff List of Senior Appointments: The Gold Coast 1948-49.

Staff List of Administrative, Professional, Senior Executive,
and Senior Technical Appointments: The Gold Coast, 1953-54.

Notes: Pass: Number of successful candidates

Gov.: Number of successful candidates who entered the government
service.

for the government service were expected than in Mauritius and the Gold Coast. Further this implies that the Ceylonese could have held higher positions in the government service involving higher level administrative decisions. For example, as we have shown in Chapter VII, in Ceylon 516 (77.5%) staff had high qualifications out of the 666 government servants listed in the 1953 Civil List who were initially employed before 1939. This suggests that the Ceylonization of the government employment was well advanced before 1939. In the Gold Coast only 26 (5.7%) of the 460 staff, who were listed in the 1953 Staff List and employed before 1939, had high qualifications. This suggests that the majority of African government servants before 1939 seem to have been employed in clerical positions. Employment opportunities in the government service in Mauritius were limited to the clerical level or to teaching.

What we have described above, shows different possibilities of the same channel for social mobility in the colonies. Those who obtained qualifications, either secondary school certificates or higher qualifications, entered the public sector of the government service or teaching. In Ceylon's case, 479 out of 967 (49.5%) graduates (external) entered the public service. (Appendix 7 Table 7.4) In order to pass the ULCE, it was advantageous to be a student at a Central School and this is especially the case for Science qualifications.

Some evidence suggests that from the data available as in the case of the Gold Coast that many of those who studied at the Inns of Courts and became barristers were the sons of merchants.

We can very tentatively summarise our findings as follows. Different avenues were available to enter the public sector or the private sector. For example, on the one hand the students at the colonial central school had more chance to take the ULCE and enter public service such as government service and teaching than those who studied privately or at other schools. On the other hand, those who entered the private sector such as Law, Medicine and Engineering went to British universities and Inns of Courts. Some of them were educated at schools in Britain. From this we can say that the ULCE were important in qualifying indigenous people for the public sector, but not for the private sector, especially not for Law and Medicine. It can be said that social mobility was more likely to occur in the public sector than in the private sector and the ULCE offered opportunities for such social mobility.

4-ii Special Implications for each Colony

4-ii-1 Mauritius

The introduction and the development of the ULCE in Mauritius was essentially for political purposes, to provide support for the Royal College, and the ULCE played an important role in ensuring the Anglicizing of the Royal College against Franco-Mauritians.

In comparison with the number of Secondary School Certificate holders (the number of successful candidates at the University of Cambridge Local Examination and at the University of London Matriculation Examination), the number of successful candidates at the Intermediate and the degree examinations is very much smaller. In fact, the percentage of the population in Mauritius who were in a position to gain access to higher education was the highest among three colonies (0.7%). However the majority of the secondary school students terminated their education at the secondary level. (Appendix 8).

This was because employment opportunities in the government service were open for those who possessed the Secondary School Certificate. Thus access to the government service was possible on the basis of the Secondary School Certificate. Those Mauritians who took the Intermediate or degree examinations intended to hold teaching positions. A crucial implication of the low level of requirements to enter the government service in Mauritius was that it afforded opportunities only to become clerks or to enter the educational field as teachers. Thus the University of London Colonial Examinations did not assist the development of higher education in Mauritius. The Matriculation Examination was useful only for those seeking an English scholarship in the Classics.

The failure to develop higher education enabled the British to retain higher positions for themselves in the government

service and exclude the Franco-Mauritians. However the failure to develop higher education also robbed Indians of opportunities for social mobility. Although Franco-Mauritians were excluded from high level positions in the administration, they dominated the economy.

4-ii-2 The Gold Coast

The role of the ULCE in the Gold Coast cannot be fully assessed as the candidate numbers increased only in the 1930's, that is towards the end of the period of analysis of the thesis. However our view is that the ULCE created a basis for the Special Relation in the period between 1948 and 1963.

Unlike the case of other colonies, the organised introduction of the ULCE was the result of the request by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies to the University of London. If the introduction of the ULCE in Mauritius reflected the early stage of the British Empire, the introduction of the ULCE in the Gold Coast was part of the preparation of the colony for self-government.

With the exception of BSc (Engineering) graduates who were offered positions in the government service after completing their course at Achimota College, BA graduates as in Mauritius were mainly employed in education. Although the number of candidates are small, the variety of subjects taken at the Intermediate level pointed to a greater variety in degree subjects in the future. The examination conducted

under the Special Relation between 1951 and 1963 confirm this inference.

4-ii-3 Ceylon

The role of the ULCE in Ceylon must be understood in the context of the struggle of the Ceylonese against the British administration and in the context of the communal conflict.

The introduction of the ULCE in 1882 was a step towards the development of higher education. The expansion of the ULCE both in candidate numbers and subjects was the direct result of the establishment of the Ceylon University College.

The increase in the number of successful candidates possessing higher qualifications, generally obtained through the ULCE can be attributable to the Ceylonization of the government service. The ULCE made it possible for Ceylonese to obtain those qualifications which gave them access to higher positions in the government service. However, it is not entirely clear whether Ceylonization of the government service was the result of the entry by a merit rule or by difficulty in attracting British administrators to Ceylon. Ceylonization of the government service also introduced communalism among the different races. We have shown that Tamils, as a population, were over represented in the graduate population, whereas Sinhalese were slightly under represented in the graduate population. However Sinhalese (45.4% of the total number of graduates) were over represented in the government service (55.6% of the total

number of graduates who entered the government service), and Tamils (37.4% of the total number of graduates), were under represented in the government service (28.8%). The over representation of Sinhalese in the government service is particularly notable for BSc graduates. For example, the race proportion of the government servants among the BSc graduates are Sinhalese (53.6%), Tamils (33.2%) and Burghers (7.2%), while the race proportion of the BSc graduates are Sinhalese (37.7%), Tamils (50.9%) and Burghers (5.5%). Further, the proportion of government servants of BSc graduates in each race is Sinhalese (61.4%), Tamils (28.1%) and Burghers (57.1%). Thus this disproportion in government employment of the graduates among different races suggests that the expansion of higher education did not open positions for Tamils in the government service to the same extent as it did for Sinhalese.

The implication of the ULCE for Ceylon is now summarized as follows. In the two chapters, we attempted to explain the contribution of the ULCE in Ceylon. For this purpose we described the development of the education system in Ceylon to make clear the position of the ULCE, the expansion of candidate numbers and subjects for the ULCE, and the link between the University of London qualifications, occupation, and race. The University of London qualifications became ultimate aims of education achievement, which opened positions in the public sector. Thus, in Ceylon as in other colonies, the British educational system was adopted and became the central means of social mobility and thus

occupational advancement. However, our findings, which differ from the view agreed in the existing literature, show a disagreement in the number of graduates and government servants in different races. From this, we came to a conclusion that Sinhalese already had power in the government service under the colonial rule. Over representation of Sinhalese in the government service in the first half of the 20th century seems to have been connected with the buddhist revival in the 1960's. The case of Ceylon is interesting as it shows that despite the development of a British educational system both with respect to its organisation into levels, its contents, and its examining procedures, after independence, the culture of traditional dominant group (Sinhalese) reasserted itself. Presumably, Sinhalese control over the government service facilitated this dominance. As a form, the British educational system and the ULCE were firmly planted over a long period, but as a dominating cultural form, the existing dominant culture outside the school system was stronger. Although dependency theories stress economic relations between countries under capitalism, Ceylon's case cannot be explained by purely economic factors. The ULCE contributed to producing government servants under British rule, to introducing the form of the modern university, and to preserving the dominance of the Sinhalese.

5. Problems of the Literature on the Development of Education in the Colonies

In Chapter II, we have presented two different views on the educational development in the colonies:

(1) Dependency and underdevelopment theories

(2) Counter-arguments to the dependency and underdevelopment theories.

Dependency and underdevelopment theories were originally developed to explain Latin American underdevelopment in relation to capitalist world economy. In crude terms, dependency theories state that "the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others." (Dos Santos, 1973:76) According to Carnoy (1974), who applied dependency theories to educational systems under various forms of colonialism, schooling in the imperial context was to develop and maintain dependent relations. In international relations, schooling incorporates people outside the advanced countries into the world economic and political structure in which they can be more effectively exploited by the advanced country. We must distinguish between the early theories of dependency theories as exemplified by Frank, Bodenheimer and Carnoy which stressed the passivity of the relations between the centre and the periphery, the homogenizing of dependent societies, and monocausal determinism, and the revision of these theories by Cardoso and Faletto which assert the possibilities for change. Cardoso and Faletto take a structural and historical approach. Their emphasis on history entails counter-arguments which emphasize various factors in determining educational policies in each colony. This view is shared by non-dependency and underdevelopment theorists. For example, Altback and Kelly (1978) emphasize the active role of education. Clatworthy (1971) argues that British educational

policies between 1923 and 1948 were supportive of local needs. Whitehead (1981) and Basu (1978) point out various factors which determined educational policies other than economic factors. Whitehead (1981) and Ball (1983) argue that educational content was decided through struggles between the colonial governors, settlers, missionaries and indigenous people, and they stress initiatives taken by the indigenous people.

Thus, there is a difference between the two views on whether education can be taken as a means of maintaining dependent relations based on the world economy between the advanced countries and less advanced countries, or whether other factors need to be taken into account. These other factors would include the special historical and cultural context, the initiatives shown by different social groups, changes in the power relationships in the international field and with respect to the concerns of this thesis, the role of the ULCE.

Following dependency theories, Juggernaut (1987) and Fewzi (1983) in order to explain the situation of Mauritius and the Gold Coast emphasized the external examinations as cultural imposition and as a means of creating clientele classes. We have shown that, in Mauritius and the Gold Coast, firstly only a small number of candidates obtained qualifications above the Intermediate Examinations, secondly that the number of those who entered the government service was even smaller, thirdly that the nature of employment in the government service was mainly clerical or teaching in both countries.

This suggests that the influence of the ULCE was weak in Mauritius and in the Gold Coast. In Ceylon, although many graduates were produced through the ULCE, this does not necessarily follow that the ULCE was successful as a means of cultural imposition or as a means of creating clientele classes. Our findings suggest that the opportunities to obtain qualifications offered by the University of London under British rule did not enhance job opportunities in the government service for Tamils who obtained similar qualifications as others. It might be argued that it was in the interest of the British to support Tamils rather than Sinhalese as the Sinhalese was the traditional dominant group who could oppose British rule. However, our data strongly suggests that the Sinhalese rather than the British were influential over employment in the government service. This shows the importance of a close understanding of the local context rather than a simple following of the fixed power relations of crude dependency theories. Ceylon's case is supportive of Cardoso and Faletto.

6. Conclusions

Our research suggests that the role of the ULCE depended on how the qualifications were seen and used by different groups. From the viewpoint of the University of London, the increase in the number of candidates might be a measure of the success of the ULCE. However, from the viewpoint of the British administration, the control of higher education in the colony was important. From the viewpoint of indigenous people, how to increase the political power against the

British administration was crucial. The Mauritian case shows a disappointing result for the University of London, but a reasonable success for the British administration in maintaining existing social relations. The Gold Coast case suggests that British cultural influence would continue after the political influence decreased because of the Special Relation. Ceylon's case shows that although the result was successful from the viewpoint of the University of London, indigenous political power of the Ceylonese superseded British administration in the first half of the 20th century.

Perhaps one of the most interesting points that has risen from this analysis and which has crucial implications for dependency theories is the way in which British academic cultural values, discipline, and ways of thinking were reproduced in the various colonies directly or indirectly through the ULCE. It is clear that the ULCE affected the form and content of both secondary and primary education as well as higher education and training institutions for the teachers in the colony. In this way, the ULCE dominated the pedagogic culture of teachers, students and pupils where a crucial influence was seen upon the indigenous population and its development. In this sense the ULCE could be regarded as the devices which produced two worlds in a nation: English speaking groups and non-English speaking groups. This is seen most clearly in Ceylon. From this point of view the educational systems in the colonies were regulated by the ULCE and undoubtedly were relays of British culture, in as much as that culture was shaped by British education.

Those who took advantage of the new channels for social mobility in the public sector would have been those most affected, who in turn would become crucial agents of the new cultural reproduction. Unfortunately, the literature in the early chapter gives no indication of social mobility in the colonies. However we do know that students who were internal to British universities must have origins in economically and probably socially privileged strata. It may well be that these internal students who had studied law, medicine and engineering entered the developing modern legal and private sector and achieved dominating positions within it. Here we could speculate very tentatively that overseas education acted as a switch changing in part the reproduction of traditional dominant groups based upon indigenous traditional hierarchy to reproduction of dominant professional groups based in the developing modern private sector. In the case of those who sat for the ULCE any speculation based upon their social origins must be extremely tentative as evidence is very inadequate. We know from Omolewa that in Nigeria clerks and teachers were major social groups who took advantage of the ULCE at an early stage. This is a similar social group who took advantage of the grammar school in Britain during the interwar period particularly in the 1930's. However, we know little about the social origins of the ULCE candidates in Ceylon. They must have had more than primary education and probably completed secondary education. We do know that the majority of these students attended Christian secondary schools. From this point of view, such students were culturally and socially separated from their cultural and

religious group. At the schools which were fee paying, parents must have been in a position to make not inconsiderable payment. The ULCE here did not act so much as a switch but as an objective to which people were already motivated. We can conclude, again very tentatively that education may well have had different functions and different consequences for different social groups. Overseas students education may well have acted as a switch from dominant position in the indigenous culture to dominant professions in the modern private sector whereas ULCE acted as a means to administrative, and pedagogic positions in the public sector. While it is the case that the dependency theories we have reviewed in Chapter II refer to a later period than the concern of the thesis, it might be argued that the ULCE through their consequences upon the development of the educational system and public administration laid the basis for cultural and symbolic dependence and set up internal conflicts between the internal racial groups and so contributed to the destabilising of the indigenous culture, which in turn may have led to the re-assertion of the traditional dominant culture as Ceylon's case shows.

The situation is indeed complex. It is not a matter of simple imposition. Indeed a case could be made that the ULCE as a relay for British culture arose out of principles of equality rather than principles of cultural domination. As we have seen, the University of London was concerned that both internal degrees and external degrees whether taken by British students or colonial students should have the same

academic status, same recognition and be regarded as equal qualifications for common positions. It is clear that the University of London did not wish to institutionalize a two tier system of degrees, first class internal and second class external. This principle of equality may well have its origin in the origin of the University of London as an examining body.

However, in ensuring equality between the two degrees in the interest of fairness and scholarship, the ULCE became a nearly perfect instrument for the relaying and reproduction of British culture in the colonies. It is a matter of irony that the more the University of London Senate discussed the importance of parity between the degrees in ensuring common academic standard, the more surely did the University become a relay for British culture (Bordieu, P. and Passeron, J.C., 1970).

In 1870, Charles Bruce, the then Rector of the Royal College, expressed his desire of either fixing a system of study especially adapted to colonial students by the University of London, or setting up a Board of Examinations for the Colonies, "with the view of introducing conformity into the education of youth in all parts of the empire, and of controlling local institutions." (Bruce, 1870:38) Instead of an adapted form of study for the colonies, the University of London degrees were brought into the colonies in the almost original form for the reasons explained above. In fact, ULCE created conformity in the education of youth in many parts of

the Empire and controlled local institutions just as Bruce had expected.

In the thesis, we have chosen three colonies as case studies. Although we believe that the three case studies present a useful basis for the examination of the role of the University of London Colonial Examinations, further research on other colonies is clearly important. A comparison of the role of the University of London under the Colonial Examinations and under the Special Relation would also throw further light on the question of imposition and dependency.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX 1

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS: CANDIDATES AND SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES, 1865-1939
BY TYPE OF EXAMINATIONS

Table 1.1 (1865 - 1899)

Type of Examinations	1865 - 1869		1870 - 1879		1880 - 1889		1890 - 1899		Total 1865-1899	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Mat Jun	-	-	86	40	295	148	369	100	750	288
Mat Jun	43	26	140	71	216	89	352	134	751	320
Mat Jan & Jun	43	26	226	111	511	237	721	234	1501	608
Intermediate Arts	2	2	35	24	32	19	48	26	117	71
B A	0	0	11	5	11	6	18	11	40	22
Intermediate Laws	0	0	0	0	4	2	12	5	16	7
LL B	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	4	3
Intermediate Music	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
First Scriptural Exam	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
M A Branch I	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Total	45	28	272	140	559	265	806	281	1682	714

Table 1.2

(1900 - 1939)

Type of Examinations	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Matriculation:Jan	301	139	912	289	3115	949	11959	3445	16287	4822
Matriculation:June	398	182	1146	388	2913	763	9345	2539	13803	3872
			1(1)	0(1)						
Mat: Jan & June	699	321	2058	677	6028	1712	21304	5984	30090	8694
			1(1)	0(1)						
Intermediate: Arts	85	39	432	151	1475	499	3243	973	5235	1662
BA: Honours					56	52	282	226	338	278
Pass	21	9	65	34	259	120	560	262	905	425
Subsidiary Sub					14	9	87	72	101	81
MA					1	0	13	6	14	6
Intermediate: Law	25	11	42	23	76	45	141	60	284	139
LLB : Honours			5	1	10	1		4		6
Pass	7	5	8	10	18	14	54	18	103	47
Qualify for LLD					1	0		1		1
LIM							1(2)	0(2)	1(2)	0(2)
Inter:Divinity	31	19	41	19	25	17	39	16	136	71
BD: Honours			8	7	3	5	6	5	17	17
Pass	11	4	31	19	12	8	16	5	70	36
(War)					1	0			1	0

Table 1.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Type of Examinations	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Further Scriptural	1	1							1	1
Inter Science: Hon					1	1			1	1
Pass	11	6	196	89	572	234	1400	361	2179	690
*(3)					64	55	171	142	235	197
Preliminary Scientific										
Part One	3	3							3	3
Part Two	1	1							1	1
B Sc: Special							202	161	202	161
General	1 ⁽⁴⁾	1 ⁽⁴⁾	23	14	185	123	324	174	533	312
Inter: Economics	1	1	10	1	56	28	703 ⁽⁵⁾	350 ⁽⁵⁾	770 ⁽⁵⁾	380 ⁽⁵⁾
B Sc: Economics			1	0	11	6	128	68	140	74
Translation										
Inter: Engineering					14	5	222	59	236	64
B Sc: Engi:Honours					2	1				
:Pass			1	1	0	1	27	12	30	15
Inter: Commerce					21	11	164 ⁽⁵⁾	71 ⁽⁵⁾	185 ⁽⁵⁾	82 ⁽⁵⁾

Table 1.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Type of Examinations	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Inter: Agriculture					16	7	4	1	20	8
M Sc							3	1	3	1
First Medical			56	32	148	82	278	116	482	230
Second Medical			16	12	84	63	70	44	170	119
Inter: Music										
B Music Part I							1	0	1	0
Inter: Estate Management										
D Sc: Geology	1	1							1	1
Diploma: Theology					1	1	16	8	17	9
Diploma: Geography							7	3	7	3
Teacher's Diploma							7	2	7	2
Dip: Theory & Practice of Physical Education							4	0	4	0
Dip: Public Administration										
Certificate: Religious Knowledge			1	1					1	1
Supplementary Certificate: Education					1	1			1	1

Table 1.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Type of Examinations									Total	
	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Proficiency: English (Scheme A)							1		1	
Proficiency: Religious Knowledge							6	3	6	3
Higher School Exam							70	36	70	36
General School Exam										
Prisoners in Germany (6)										
Mat: June (Ruhleben)			12	12						
Mat: Sep (Rhine)			10	2						
Inter: Engineering			1	1						
Grand										
T O T A L	898	427	2995	1091	9155	3101	29553	9245	42601	13859

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1866 - 1940-41
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41

Notes - Tables 1.1 and 1.2

- (1) The number of students taking the Supplementary Certificate in Modern History and Logic is included in the Total.
- (2) The examination was taken by an internal student, but the country is not specified.
- (3) Inter Science * includes "subsidiary subjects" in 1920-1929, and "Supplementary Subject" and "One subject for Re-examination in 1930-1939.
- (4) By research.
- (5) The numbers of Inter Economics and Inter Commerce candidates given in individual countries and the total number are different. See the "Difference" at the bottom of the Table 2.2 (Appendix 2).
- (6) The number of "Prisoners in Germany" is not included in the TOTAL.

APPENDIX 2

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON COLONIAL EXAMINATIONS: CANDIDATES AND SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES,
1865-1939 BY COUNTRY

Table 2.1

(1865 - 1899)

Countries	1865 - 1869		1870 - 1879		1880 - 1889		1890 - 1899		Total 1865-1899	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Australia-Tasmania	0	0	10	5	23	14	29	9	62	28
Barbados	0	0	1	1	3	2	5	0	9	3
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	6	10	6
British Guiana	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	6	3
Canada	17	11	43	26	42	33	20	11	122	81
Cape Colony	0	0	11	5	6	4	4	1	21	10
Ceylon	0	0	0	0	33	21	92	43	125	64
Grenada	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	3	2
Hong Kong	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1
India	0	0	0	0	59	29	78	22	137	51
Jamaica	0	0	0	0	6	5	86	52	92	57
Lagos	0	0	0	0	5	0	12	2	17	2
Leeward Island	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	7	15	7
Mauritius	28	17	178	84	295	96	352	76	853	273
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	12	10	1	0	13	10
Newfoundland	0	0	0	0	9	3	82	42	91	45
Sierra Leone	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	1
West Indies	0	0	29	19	63	47	8	4	100	70
Total	45	28	272	140	559	265	806	281	1682	714

Table 2.2

(1900 - 1939)

Countries	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Australia	84	36	68	37	53	32		66		171
Bahamas	4	1	12	5	16	4		4		14
Barbados	17	7	21	10	36	16		66		99
Bermuda	1	1	0	0	5	5		10		16
British Guiana	18	7	54	18	85	17		113		155
British Honduras	1	0	0	0	0	0		4		4
Canada	130	77	118	65	46	24		69		235
Cape Colony	65	37	230	71	454	193		142		443
Ceylon	275	116	2052	698	6910	2202		6414		9430
Gold Coast	1	0	4	1	50	14		136		151
Grenada	4	1	0	0	0	0				1
Hong Kong	5	0	0	0	12	6		19		25
India	2	2	3	3	36	19		35		59
Jamaica	68	40	69	37	284	131		278		486
Lagos (Nigeria)	2	1	22	3	118	32		129		165
Leeward Island	11	6	5	3	7	3		26		38
Malta	11	5	8	5	36	15		33		58
Mauritius	147	64	121	40	83	53		135		292
New Zealand	24	14	35	17	14	7		17		55

Table 2.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Countries	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Seychelles	2	0	10	8	9	5		22		35
Sierra Leone	5	0	11	5	42	9		15		29
Straits Settlement	7	3	105	47	325	99		277		426
Trinidad	5	1	4	1	22	11		95		108
Windward Island	9	3	23	9	77	27		85		124
West Indies	0	0	0	0	-	-				
Fiji			2	0	0	0		6		6
Tonga			2	2	0	0		0		2
Gibraltar			2	2	7	3		14		19
Gambia			2	1	7	4		2		7
Dominica			1	0	0	0				
Pakistan (Peshawar)			2	2	0	0				2
Malay States (Kuala Lumpur)			1	0	0	0				
Rhodesia			3	0	94	36		18		54
Zanzibar			1	0	3	1		1		2
Kenya (Nairobi)			1	0	54	16		218		234
Cyprus			3	1	7	1		9		11
Aden					2	0				

Table 2.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Countries	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Argentina					1	0		2		2
Brazil					1	1		0		1
British North Borneo					1	1				1
Cologne					2	1				1
Constantinople					47	25		64		89
Egypt					19	11		136		147
Iraq					15	3		61		64
Palestine					114	45		189		234
Shanghai					54	24		58		82
Tanganyika					1	0		8		8
Tientsin					2	2				2
Uganda					1	2		2		4
External Diploma in Theology (1)					1	0				0
Mat June 1920 (1)					2	1				1
Algeria								3		3
Bangkok (Siam)								0		0
Bechuanaland								1		1
Belgium								1		1

Table 2.2 (Cont.)

(1900 - 1939)

Countries	1900 - 1909		1910 - 1919		1920 - 1929		1930 - 1939		Total 1900 - 1939	
	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass	Candi	Pass
Greece							2		2	
Isfaham (Persia)							1		1	
Sarawak (Kuching)							0		0	
Swaziland							0		0	
USA - New York							9		9	
Entire Examination (2)							65		65	
Subsidiary (2)							103		103	
Scholarship (2)							13		13	
Difference (3)							69		69	
Central Mediterranean Forces (R.A.F. Candidate)										
H.M.S. "UKUSA"										
Ruhleben (4)			13	13						
Rhine (4)			10	2						
Grand T O T A L	898	422	2995	1091	9155	3101	29553	9245	42601	13859

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1866 - 1940-41
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41

Notes Tables 2.1 and 2.2

- (1) The number in "External Diploma in Theology" and "Mat June 1920" gives the difference between the total number given in the Report of the Examiners in 1920 and the total number in the Pass List.
- (2) "Entire Examination", "Subsidiary", "Scholarship" gives the difference between the total number in the Report of the Examiners and the number in the Pass List between 1930-1939.
- (3) "Difference" indicates the difference in the number of the total number in the Report of the Examiners and the number in the Pass List for the Intermediate Examination in Economics and in the Intermediate Commerce between 1930-1939.
- (4) The numbers of Ruhleben and Rhine are not included in the TOTAL.
- (5) The candidate number in each country between 1932-1939, except Matriculation candidates, is not given in the Report of the Examiners, consequently the total candidate numbers in each colony between 1930-1939 is not given.

APPENDIX 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF COLONIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS, 1900-1939

Year	Candidates (Colonial Centres)				Total
	Pre	Junior	Senior	Higher	
1900	248	620	389	-	1,257
1901	206	756	390	3	1,355
1902	207	745	438	-	1,390
1903	264	893	473	-	1,630
1904	271	919	565	6	1,761
1905	350	948	633	10	1,941
1906	455	1,055	644	-	2,154
1907	548	1,233	763	6	2,550
1908	569	1,421	841	13	2,844
1909	598	1,531	1,031	7	3,167
1910	759	1,657	1,296	11	3,723
1911	924	1,934	1,410	13	4,281
1912	1,051	2,184	1,583	18	4,836
1913	1,212	2,535	1,917	30	5,694
1914	1,292	2,993	2,288	-	6,573
1915	1,518	3,314	2,805	23	7,660
1916	1,682	2,029	2,054	-	5,765
1917	1,591	2,883	1,859	44	6,377
1918	1,648	3,171	2,060	43	6,922
1919	1,635	3,446	2,356	61	7,498
1920	1,840	3,762	2,744	31	8,377
1921	1,177	2,945	2,889	50(1)	7,061
1922	1,594	4,858	2,856	30	9,338
1923	-	4,929	3,287		8,216
1924	593	4,989	3,850		9,432
1925	1,522	5,142	4,305		10,969
1926	1,624	5,409	4,329		11,362
1927	1,639	5,916	4,305		11,860
1928	1,668	6,677	4,700		13,045
1929	1,328	7,163	5,186		13,677
1930	1,473	7,629	5,493		14,595
1931	1,255	8,146	6,007		15,408
1932	1,145	8,423	6,292		15,860
1933	1,010	8,529	6,582	73(2)	16,194
1934	1,022	9,027	7,124	62	17,235
1935	1,016	9,364	7,351	67	17,798
1936	1,040	9,564	7,161		17,765
1937	588	8,242	7,357		16,187
1938	455	8,550	8,119		17,124
1939	335	9,015	9,450		18,800
Total	39,352	174,546	135,182	601	349,681

Source: The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Reports and Tables 1900-1904.

The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Papers, Class Lists, Reports 1900-1939.

Note 1: Higher Local started in 1921.

2: Higher School Certificate started in 1933.

* Examinations Overseas were held only in December between 1900-1909.

* Examinations Overseas were held in July and in December after 1910.

(Candidate numbers in Colonial Centres include numbers of July and December after 1910.

STUDENTS WHO TOOK VARIOUS EXAMINATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

	1899-1900	1910-1911	1919-1920	1929-1930	1938-1939
I. Total Admissions to the London University					
Matriculation			4,569	7,344	2,591
General School Examination					3,591
Special Univ. Entrance Examination					433
Certificate of Oxford or Cambridge School exam.			625	1,126	1,268
Other Approved Certificates			217	848	1,706
Graduates of other Universities			219	470	665
[Board of Moderators Under Statute 116]			665	247	
Total		4,255	6,295	10,035	10,254
II. Total Candidates					
Matriculation and registration	4,084	7,331	12,608	23,832	29,029
Special University Entrance					
Preliminary and Intermediate	2,037	3,327	4,514	7,884	11,440
Diplomas/Certificate	7	100	144	971p.g.	640
Total	7,139	12,681	18,352	36,633	47,299
III. Total Candidates for Degrees					
First Degrees	863	1,721	936	3,436	3,978
Higher Degrees	148	166	150	510	720
				below post grad.	597
Internal			613	2,458	2,973
External		473	1,488	1,725	
Total			1,086	3,946	4,698
IV. Successful Candidates Degrees & Diplomas		1,104	779	3,086	4,285
Total		6,837	6,283	15,798	28,167
V. Internal Students		4,350	6,700	10,200	26,454
VI. External Students Entries to Examinations					6,812

Source: Compilation from Minutes of the Senate, 1899-1900, 1910-1911, 1919-1920, 1929-1930, 1938-1939.

APPENDIX 5: TABLES RELATING TO MAURITIUS

**Table 5.1: University of London Colonial Examinations:
Mauritius candidates and successful candidates,
1865-1939**

Year	Mat (Jan & June)		First BA		Second BA	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1865	11	6				
1866	4	3	2	2		
1867	5	3				
1868	0	0				
1869	6	3				
1870	6	5				
1871	9	2	5	5		
1872	6	4	1	1	3	0
1873	2	2	1	1	3	3
1874	15	8	2	1		
1875	23	7	4	3		
1876	16	6	5	3		
1877	18	3	7	3	1	0
1878	14	7	4	4		
1879	29	14	3	2	1	0
1880	23	9	5	4		
1881	13	1	7	3	1	0
1882	30	6	3	3	1	0
1883	27	10			2	2
1884	27	7				
1885	29	12				
1886	22	9				
1887	32	7	2	1		
1888	32	6				
1889	39	15	1	1		
1890	36	9	3	2		
1891	21	3	2	1		
1892	38	11	1	1		
1893	44	12	1	1		
1894	54	7	2	0		
1895	37	9				
1896	21	4				
1897	28	5				
1898	35	2	2	1		
1899	27	8				

Table 5.1 (cont.)

Year	Mat (Jan & June)		Inter Arts		B A		Inter Science		BSc (General)	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1900	16	9								
1901	14	5			1	0				
1902	16	4	1	0	1	1				
1903	9	6	1	1						
1904	8	6	1	1	2	1				
1905	14	6	1	1	1	0				
1906	14	5			1	1				
1907	19	6			0	0				
1908	13	5	1	1						
1909	12	5			1	0				
1910	11	4	1	1						
1911	21	7			1	1				
1912	22	8								
1913	25	10	1	0						
1914	34	7	1	1E						
1915	3	1								
1916										
1917			1	0						
1918										
1919										
1920										
1921			1	1						
1922										
1923	6	5	2	1			1	1		
1924			1	1						
	3	2	Re	1	Re	1	1	0		
1925	5	4					3	2		
					p	1 p	0	Re	1	Re
1926	5	4	1	1			3	2	1	1
1927	11	7	Re	1	Re	0	4	2		
1928	6	3	3	1		?	?	1		
1929	12	6	3	0			6	4		
			Re	1	Re	1				
1930	8	4	5	0			7	4		
							Re	1	Re	1
1931	9	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
			Re	1	Re	1				
1932	12	2		1				1		
1933	16	5		2				1		
1934	12	3		1		1		3		1
1935	13	5		3				1		
1936	14	7		4				3		
1937	23	14				2		2		1
							Supp	1		
1938	28	13		7		2		3		
1939	21	22		3		2		4		
Total										
1865/1939	1234	427		78		18		37		3
1900/1939	455	202		35		13		37		3

Table 5.1 (cont.) ULCE started in the 1930's

Year	Inter Commerce		Inter Agriculture		Inter Economy	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1930	1	0	1	1		
1931						
1932						
1933						
1934						
1935						
1936						
1937						
1938						
1939						1
Total 1865-1939	1	0	1	1		1
Total 1900-1939	1	0	1	1		1

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1865-1940-41
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41.

* Re=Re-examination, 1 subject only; P=Pass Subsidiary Only;
 E=Exc.English, Supp=Supplementary.

Table 5.2: University of Cambridge Local Examinations
Mauritius candidates and successful candidates, 1900-1939

Year	Junior			Senior			Total		
	Cand No.	Success.	%	Cand No.	Success.	%	Cand No.	Success.	%
1900	26	7	26.9	69	24	34.8	95	31	32.6
1901	19	9	47.4	67	24	35.8	86	33	38.4
1902	22	16	72.7	73	19	26.0	95	35	36.8
1903	36	13	36.1	93	40	43.0	129	53	41.1
1904	43	13	30.2	89	37	41.6	132	50	37.9
1905	36	9	95.0	105	38	36.2	141	47	33.3
1906	39	16	41.0	108	30	27.8	147	46	31.3
1907	31	11	35.5	117	47	40.2	148	58	39.2
1908	42	21	50.0	116	39	33.6	158	60	38.0
1909	31	18	58.1	108	35	32.4	139	53	38.1
1910	38	16	42.1	120	31	25.8	158	47	49.7
1911	47	18	38.3	109	36	33.0	156	54	34.6
1912	39	14	35.9	130	48	36.9	169	62	36.7
1913	37	17	45.9	136	54	39.7	173	71	41.0
1914	46	19	41.3	126	51	40.5	172	70	40.7
1915*	64	27	26.6	145	51	35.2	209	78	37.3
1916	61	28	45.9	199	73	36.7	260	101	38.8
1917*	76	24	31.6	187	38	20.3	263	62	23.6
1918*	97	38	39.2	181	46	25.4	278	84	30.2
1919*	74	33	44.6	203	56	27.6	277	89	32.1
1920*	56	12	21.4	329	79	24.0	385	91	23.6
1921*	53	8	15.1	303	47	15.5	356	55	15.4
1922*	45	16	35.6	256	42	16.4	301	58	19.3
1923*	40	11	27.5	267	41	15.4	307	52	16.9
1924*	45	15	33.3	297	60	20.2	342	75	21.9
1925*	43	8	18.6	273	63	23.1	316	71	22.5
1926*	77	20	26.0	226	50	22.1	303	70	23.1
1927	104	31	29.8	195	37	19.0	299	68	22.7
1928	-	36	-	243	82	33.7	243	118	48.6
1929	117	25	21.4	241	92	38.2	358	117	32.7
1930	111	21	18.9	244	78	32.0	355	99	27.9
1931	108	15	13.9	268	118	44.0	376	133	35.4
1932	119	10	8.4	216	88	40.7	335	98	29.3
1933	94	12	12.8	260	87	33.5	354	99	28.0
1934	82	7	8.5	263	85	32.3	345	92	26.7
1935	44	6	13.6	239	96	40.2	283	102	36.0
1936	39	5	12.8	225	54	24.0	264	59	22.3
1937	43	4	9.3	231	120	51.9	274	124	45.3
1938	27	8	29.6	223	174	78.0	250	182	72.8
1939	31	11	35.5	258	123	47.7	289	134	46.4
Total	2182	648	29.7	7538	2433	32.3	9720	3081	31.7

*June and December

Source: Cambridge Local Examinations Reports and Tables, 1900-1904.

Cambridge Local Examinations, Papers, Class Lists, Reports 1900-1939.

Note: Candidate Numbers in 1928 for Junior Local Examinations is not obtainable.

APPENDIX 6: TABLES RELATING TO THE GOLD COAST

Table 6.1: University of London Colonial Examinations:

Gold Coast candidates and successful candidates,

1900 - 1939

Year	Mat (Jan & Jun)		Inter Arts		B A		Inter Laws	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1900								
1906	1	0						
1909								
1910								
1914	2	0						
1915							1	1
1917	1	0						
1919								
1920	1	0						
1921	1	0						
1922								
1923								
1924	1	0						
1925	3	1						
1926	1	0	2	1				
1927	9	3	1	0				
			Re 1	Re 1				
1928	16	7	2	0				
1929	10	0	1	0	1	1		
1930	19	3	6	0				
1931	9	2	7	3				
1932	11	0		5				
1933	16	4		4		1		
1934	19	6		3		2		
1935	26	7		3		1		
1936	37	7		5		5		
1937	30	5		2				
1938	33	7		4		3		
1939	33	9		7		1		
Total	279	61	19	37	1	14	1	1
			Re 1	Re 1				

APPENDIX 6.1 (Cont.) ULCE which started in the 1930's: Gold Coast candidates and successful candidates

Year	Inter (Eng)		BSc. (Eng)		Inter Scie.		Inter Eco.		Inter Comm.	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1930							Pt.I 1	0		
1931										
1932										
1933		1								
1934										
1935		1		1		1				
1936		1				3				
1937		1		1		3				
				1				1		
1938		3		Pt.I 1		1		Pt.II 1		
				1						
1939		3		Pt.I 3		2		1		Pt.I 1
Total		10		entire 4 Pt.I 4		10		entire 2 Pt.II 1		Pt.I 1

Year	Dip.Theology		Proficiency of Religious Knowl.		B D		First Med.	
	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass	Cand	Pass
1930					Two papers			
1931	1	0			1	1		
1932								
1933								
1934								
1935		1						
1936		Re 1						
1937								2
1938								
1939				Pt.I 1				2
Total		entire 1 Re 1		Pt.I 1	Two papers 1	1		4

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41
London University Gazette 1915-16 - 1940-41

Note: Mat: Matriculation, Inter: Intermediate, Eng: Engineering
 Science: Science, Eco: Economy, Comm: Commerce
 Dip: Diploma, Med: Medicine
 Re: Re examination (The number of candidates re-examined
 is included in the total number of other tables).

Table 6.2: Gold Coat candidates and successful candidates for Cambridge Local Examinations, 1900-1939

Year	PRELIMINARY			JUNIOR			SENIOR			TOTAL		
	Cand. No.	Success	%	Cand. No.	Success	%	Cand. No.	Success	%	Cand. No.	Success	%
1900												
1909												
1910				6	3					6	3	
1911				7						7	0	
1912												
1913												
1914												
1915				6			3			9		
1916	1	1		7	2		3			11	3	
1917												
1918	3			7						10		
1919	5	1		33	11	33.3	11	4	36.4	49	16	32.7
1920	4	3		34	10		18	2	11.1	56	15	26.8
1921	6	6			7			3			16	
1922	36	29		34	11		18	4	22.2	88	44	50.0
1923	44	27	61.4	18	10	55.6	8	2	25.0	70	39	55.7
1924	40	23	57.5	19	15	78.9	10	6	60.0	69	44	63.8
1925	58	33	56.9	35	21	60.0	19	9	47.4	112	63	56.3
1926	80	36	45.0	52	18	34.6	21	8	38.1	153	62	40.5
1927	89	36	40.4	54	24	44.4	18	11	61.1	161	71	44.1
1928	36	15	41.7	68	40	58.8	25	14	56.0	129	69	53.5
1929	21	4	19.0	64	45	70.3	25	16	64.0	110	65	59.1
1930	15	8	53.3	73	38	52.1	34	23	67.6	122	69	56.6
1931				80	30	37.5	36	27	75.0	116	57	49.1
1932				124	76	61.3	70	46	65.7	194	122	62.9
1933				123	86	69.9	98	59	60.2	221	145	65.6
1934				168	91	54.2	93	43	46.2	261	134	51.3
1935				200	85	42.5	113	65	57.5	313	150	47.9
1936				200	101	50.5	135	84	62.2	335	185	55.2
1937				233	138	59.2	180	106	58.9	413	244	59.1
1938				282	160	56.7	184	83	45.1	466	243	52.1
1939				326	191	58.6	262	168	64.1	588	359	61.1
Total	438	222		2,253	1,213		1,384	783	56.6	4,075	2,218	

Source: The University of Cambridge Local Examinations, Papers, Class Lists, Reports 1900-1939.

Note: Cand No. : Candidate Number

Success : Successful Candidate Number

Candidate Number for Junior and Senior Examinations in 1921 is not obtainable.

APPENDIX 7: TABLES RELATING TO CEYLON

Table 7.1: Population of Ceylon in 1901, by race and religion
(Exclusive of the Military, the Shipping, and the Prisoners of War)

Principal Nationalities	Population	Christian	Buddhist	Hindus	Mohammedans	Others
Europeans	6,300	6,226	19	2	1	52
Burghers and Eurasians	23,482	23,306	140	7	4	25
Low Country Sinhalese	1,458,320	203,687	1,254,300	127	169	37
Kandyan Sinhalese	872,487	5,151	866,888	332	104	12
Tamils	951,740	109,230	18,048	822,595	1,750	117
Moors	228,034	13	27	20	227,961	13
Malays	11,902	26	19	-	11,855	2
Veddas	3,971	76	463	1,439	-	1,993
Others	9,718	1,524	1,500	2,304	4,274	116
Total	3,565,954	349,239	2,141,404	826,826	246,118	2,367
		9.8%	60%	23.2%	6.9%	0.1%

Source: The Census of Ceylon, 1901.

Table 7.2: Value of Imports and Exports in 1900 and in 1939: Ceylon

	Imports		Exports	
	1900 £	1939 £	1900 £	1939 £
Food, drink and tobacco	3,789,883	114,037,203	4,223,940	204,441,837
Raw Material	991,537	37,047,837	882,989	118,971,031
Manufactured articles	2,434,610	89,639,737	948,427	3,378,369
Animals not for food	90,462	205,920	589	96,770
Bullion and specie	329,791	153,158	196,600	36,605
Postal articles				1,218,222
Re-exports			1,009,205	
Total	7,636,283	241,083,855	7,261,750	328,142,834

Source: Administration Report; Ceylon, 1900:A17-23; 1939:Part V A36-43.

Table 7.3.1: Previous education of the BA graduates and government servants

Previous education of the BA Graduates								Previous education of government servants with BA										
		1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races			1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all race	(2):(1)%
S	P	9	32	92		133	48.5	25.1			4	9	14		27	37.5	21.4	20.3
	U		34	103		137	50.0	25.9				13	30		43	59.7	34.1	31.4
	C	3	1			4	1.5	0.8			1	1			2	2.8	1.6	
Total		12	67	195		274	100.0	51.8			5	23	44		72	100.0	57.1	26.3
T	P	1	28	51		80	52.6	15.1				7	3		10	33.3	7.9	12.5
	U		16	54		70	46.1	13.2				7	12		19	63.4	15.1	27.1
	C	1		1		2	1.3	0.4					1		1	3.3	0.8	
Total		2	44	106		152	100.0	28.7				14	16		30	100.0	23.8	19.7
M	P	1		4		5	38.5	1.0										
	U		3	5		8	61.5	1.5				1	2		3		2.4	
	C																	
Total		1	3	9		13	100.0	2.5				1	2		3		2.4	23.1
B	P	3	2	16		21	45.6	4.0			3				3	25.0	2.4	14.3
	U		5	19		24	52.2	4.5					3	6	9	75.0	7.1	37.5
	?			1		1	2.2	0.2										
Total		3	7	36		46	100.0	8.7			3	3	6		12	100.0	9.5	26.1
E	P	3	6	11		20	54.1	3.8			1	2			3	33.3	2.4	15.0
	U		5	12		17	45.9	3.2				3	3		6	66.7	4.8	35.3
	C																	
Total		3	11	23		37	100.0	7.0			1	5	3		9	100.0	7.2	24.3
Other races or Un- certain	P			4		4	57.1	0.7										
	U			1		1	14.3	0.2										
	C	1				1	14.3	0.2										
	?			1		1	14.3	0.2										
Total		1		6		7	100.0	1.3										

T O T A L

Table 7.3.1 (cont.)

Previous education of the BA Graduates							
1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s				1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	
TOTAL P	17	68	178	263	49.7	49.7	
U		63	194	257	48.6	48.6	
C	1	4	1	1	7	1.3	1.3
?			2	2	0.4	0.4	
Total	1	21	132	375	529	100.0	100.0

Previous education of government servants with BA								
1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s				1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all race	(2):(1)%	
	8	18	17	43	34.1	34.1	16.3	
		27	53	80	63.5	63.5	31.1	
	1	1	1	3	2.4	2.4		
	9	46	71	126	100.0	100.0	23.8	

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900 - 1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Civil List, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

Abbreviations: See page 454.

Table 7.3.2: Previous education of the BSc graduates and government servants

Previous education of graduates								
		1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races
S	P	1	6	5		22	15.2	5.7
	U		40	80		120	82.7	31.2
	C	2	1			3	2.1	0.8
	Total	3	47	85		145	100.0	37.7
T	P	4	4	30		38	19.4	9.9
	U		46	104		150	76.5	39.0
	C	1				1	0.5	0.25
	UL		1			1	0.5	0.25
	LC							
	TC	4				4	2.1	1.0
	O				1	1	0.5	0.25
	?		1			1	0.5	0.25
	Total	9	52	135		196	100.0	50.9
B	P		1	5		6	28.6	1.6
	U		4	11		15	71.4	3.8
	Total		5	16		21	100.0	5.4
E	P	1		5		6	33.3	1.6
	U		8	4		12	66.7	3.1
	Total	1	8	9		18	100.0	4.7
Other	U		2	1		3	0.6	0.8
races or								
Uncertain	?		2			2	0.4	0.5
	Total		4	1		5	100.0	1.3

Previous education of government servants with BSc							
1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	(2):(1)%
1	2	8		11	12.4	6.7	50.0
1	29	48		78	87.6	47.0	65.0
2	31	56		89	100.0	53.7	61.4
	1	2		3	5.45	1.8	7.8
	12	36		48	87.3	28.9	32.0
	1			1	1.8	0.6	100.0
3				3	5.45	1.8	75.0
3	14	38		55	100.0	33.1	28.1
	1	1		2	16.7	1.2	33.3
	2	8		10	83.3	6.0	66.7
	3	9		12	100.0	7.2	57.1
	5	3		8		4.8	66.7
	5	3		8		4.8	44.4
	1	1		2		1.2	66.7
	1	1		2		1.2	66.7

Table 7.3.2 (cont.)

T O T A L

Previous education of graduates							
1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s				1900(1) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	
TOTAL	P	6	11	55	72	18.7	18.7
	U		100	200	300	77.9	77.9
	C	3	1		4	1.0	1.0
	UL		1		1	0.3	0.3
	LC						
	TC	4			4	1.0	1.0
	O			1	1	0.3	0.3
	?		3		3	0.8	0.8
Total		13	116	256	385	100.0	100.0

Previous education of government servants with BSc							
1900s 1910s 1920s 1930s				1900(2) /1939	% of p.e.	% of all races	(2):(1)%
	1	5	12	18	10.9	10.9	25.0
	1	48	95	144	86.7	86.7	48.0
		1		1	0.6	0.6	100.0
	3			3	1.8	1.8	75.0
	5	54	107	166	100.0	100.0	

Source: Minutes of the Senate, 1900-1940-41.

London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.

Civil List 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950

Notes for abbreviations:

S: Sinhalese	p.e.: Previous education
T: Tamils	P : Private study
M: Muslims	U : Ceylon University College, Colombo
B: Burghers	UL : The University of London (University College, London, London School of Economics)
E: Europeans	LC : Law College, Madras; Law College, Ceylon
Other races: Malay, Afghan, Indian.	TC : Technical schools; Government technical college
	O : Other institutions (Inns of Courts, Council of Legal Education, Coconut Research Institute)
	? : Not clear
	C : Christian College

Table 7.4: Occupations of the University of London graduates (external)
by Race

	S	T	M	B	E	O	Total		
(1) Total Number Graduates	439	362	16	73	59	18	967	100.0%	
(2) Civil Service	170	88	3	25	18	2	306		
(3) Civil Service	9	11		1			21	36.0	72.9
Minister	2						2		
(4) Public Admin.	15	4					19		
(5) Law	14	11	2	3	2	1	33	3.4	6.9
(6) Education	31	29		7	4		71	7.3	14.8
(7) Commerce	6	3	1	3			13	1.3	2.7
Religion	3	5					8	0.8	1.7
Unspecified	3	2		1			6	0.6	1.2
Total	253	153	6	40	24	3	479	49.5%	100.0%
Percentage	57.6	42.3	37.5	54.8	40.7	16.7	49.5		

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900-1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Ceylon Civil List 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.
Ceylon Directory (Ferguson's) 1953

Notes:

- (1) Total number of graduates without the number of successful candidates for the Second Medical Examination Part 1.
 - (2) Numbers from Ceylon Civil List of 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.
 - (3) Numbers from Ceylon Directory (Ferguson's) of 1953.
 - (4) Public Administration includes local government staff and members of public organisations.
 - (5) Law includes proctors, advocates and notary public.
 - (6) Education includes principals, vice-principals, professors of the University of Ceylon, teachers of colleges, registrars, librarians of the University, inspectors, staff of research institutions, editors.
 - (7) Commerce includes staff of banks, chartered accountants.
- S = Sinhalese ; T = Tamils ; M = Muslims ; B = Burghers ; E = Europeans ;
O = Others

APPENDIX 8

CANDIDATES AND SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR THE ULCE AND UCLE
1900-1939 IN MAURITIUS, CEYLON AND THE GOLD COAST

	Mauritius			Ceylon			The Gold Coast		
	Cand.	Pass	Pass Rate	Cand.	Pass	Pass Rate	Cand.	Pass	Pass Rate
Population	403,718			5,897,000			3,873,050		
Matric.London	455	202	44.4	20,800	5,625	27.0	279	61	21.9
Sen.Loc.Cambridge	7,538	2,433	32.3	33,486	11,198	33.4	1,384	783	21.0
Total	7,993	2,635	33.0	54,286	16,823	31.0	1,663	844	50.8
% of population	(0.7%)			(0.3%)			(0.02%)		
II Interm. Arts		35			1,298			38	
Interm. Science		37			783			10	
Interm. Commerce		0			48			1	
Interm. Agricul.		1			7				
Interm. Economics		1			220			3	
Interm. Laws					74			1	
Interm. Divinity					4				
Interm. Engineer.					33			10	
First Medical					223			4	
Diploma Others					4			3	
Total		74			2,694			70	
% of the population	(0.02%)			(0.05%)					
III BA		13			545			14	
BSc		3			393				
BSc Eng.					1			8	
BSc Econ.					19				
LLB					29				
BD					3			1	
Total		16			990			23	
% of the population	(0.004%)			(0.02%)					
IV Second Medical (Paper)					119				
V MA					2				
Total (Cambridge)		2,433			11,198			783	
Total (London)		292			9,430			161	
Grand Total		2,725			20,628			944	

Appendix 8

Source: Minutes of the Senate 1900 - 1940-41.
London University Gazette, 1915-16 - 1940-41.
Colonial Report: Mauritius No.1905, 1938.
Blue Book for the Gold Coast for 1939.
Ceylon Administration Report, 1939.
The University of Cambridge Local Examinations,
Reports, Tables, 1900-1904.
The University of Cambridge Local Examinations,
Papers, Class Lists, Reports, 1900-1939.

- Notes: 1. The population in Mauritius is in 1938, Ceylon and the Gold Coast in 1939.
2. The number includes those who took a part of the entire examination and those who took supplementary subjects.
3. The numbers in brackets show percentages of the successful candidate number in each colony's population.
4. 1921 candidate numbers for the Senior Cambridge Local Examination are not added for the Gold Coast.
5. The number of candidates above Intermediate Examinations are not given as the candidate numbers in the 1930's are not available.